l		
1	Ahilan T. Arulanantham (SBN 237841) arulanantham@law.ucla.edu	
2	CENTER FOR IMMIGRATION LAW AND POLICY, UCLA SCHOOL OF LAW	
3	385 Charles E. Young Dr. East Los Angeles, CA 90095	
4	Telephone: (310) 825-1029	
5	Emilou MacLean (SBN 319071)	
6	emaclean@aclunc.org Michelle (Minju) Y. Cho (SBN 321939)	
7	mcho@aclunc.org Amanda Young (SBN 359753)	
8	ayoung@aclunc.org ACLU FOUNDATION	
9	OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA 39 Drumm Street	
10	San Francisco, CA 94111-4805 Telephone: (415) 621-2493	
11	Facsimile: (415) 863-7832	
12	Attorneys for Plaintiffs [Additional Counsel Listed on Next Page]	
13		
14	UNITED STATES I	DISTRICT COURT
15	NORTHERN DISTRIC	CT OF CALIFORNIA
16	SAN FRANCIS	CO DIVISION
17	NATIONAL TREALLIANCE MARIELA	Case No. 3:25-cv-01766-EMC
18	NATIONAL TPS ALLIANCE, MARIELA GONZÁLEZ, FREDDY JOSE ARAPE RIVAS, M.H., CECILIA DANIELA GONZÁLEZ	
19	HERRERA, ALBA CECILIA PURICA HERNÁNDEZ, E.R., HENDRINA VIVAS	DECLARATION OF EMILOU MACLEAN IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PARTIAL SUMMARY JUDGMENT
20	CASTILLO, A.C.A., SHERIKA BLANC, VILES DORSAINVIL, and G.S.,	FOR I ARTIAL SUMMART JUDGMENT
21	Plaintiffs,	Date: July 11, 2025 Time: 9:00 a.m.
22	VS.	Place: Courtroom 5, 17th Floor
23	KRISTI NOEM, in her official capacity as	
24	Secretary of Homeland Security, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND	
25	SECURITY, and UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,	
26	Defendants.	
27		
28		

DECLARATION OF EMILOU MACLEAN IN SUPPORT OF MOTION FOR PARTIAL SUMMARY JUDGMENT CASE NO. 3:25-CV-01766-EMC

1	Additional Counsel for Plaintiffs
2	Jessica Karp Bansal (SBN 277347) jessica@ndlon.org
3	Lauren Michel Wilfong (Pro Hac Vice) lwilfong@ndlon.org
4	NATIONAL DAY LABORER ORGANIZING NETWORK
5	1030 S. Arroyo Parkway, Suite 106 Pasadena, CA 91105
6	Telephone: (626) 214-5689
7	Eva L. Bitran (SBN 302081) ebitran@aclusocal.org
8	Diana Sanchez (SBN 338871) dianasanchez@aclusocal.org
9	ACLU FOUNDATION OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
10	1313 West 8th Street Los Angeles, CA 90017
11	Telephone: (213) 977-5236
12	Erik Crew (<i>Pro Hac Vice</i>) ecrew@haitianbridge.org
13	HAITIAN BRIDGE ALLIANCE 4560 Alvarado Canyon Road, Suite 1H
14	San Diego, CA 92120 Telephone: (949) 603-7411
15	1 receptione. (5 15) 003 7 111
16	
17	
18	
19	
20	
21	
22	
23	
24	
25	
26	
27	
28	

I, Emilou MacLean, declare as follows:

- 1. I am an attorney at law duly licensed and entitled to practice in the State of California. I am a Senior Staff Attorney at ACLU Foundation of Northern California, counsel of record in this action for Plaintiffs. I have personal knowledge of the facts set forth in this declaration and, if called as a witness, I could and would testify competently thereto.
- 2. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 1** is a true and correct copy of an email communication produced by Defendants dated Friday, January 24, 2025 bearing the Bates range: NTPSA_000510–NTPSA_000511. The initial email, at 8:39 PM, is from Christina McDonald at the Department of Homeland Security ("DHS") Office of General Counsel to DHS and U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services ("USCIS") personnel, with the subject, "For review by 5 pm Sat: TPS Vacatur for Venezuela."
- 3. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 2** is a true and correct copy of an email communication produced by Defendants dated Monday, January 27, 2025 bearing Bates number: NTPSA_000262. The email is from DHS Senior Advisor and Acting General Counsel Joseph Mazzara to Christina McDonald at the DHS Office of General Counsel, with the subject and attachment, "Memo TPS VZ Vacatur Final.pdf."
- 4. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 3** is a true and correct copy of an email communication produced by Defendants dated Tuesday, January 28, 2025 at 6:12 PM bearing Bates number: NTPSA_000253. The email is from Juliana Blackwell at the DHS Office of the Executive Secretary to DHS Senior Advisor James Percival and Joseph Mazzara, cc: Clark Barrow and Christina McDonald, with subject "Venezuela Vacatur Notice," and attachments "Venezuela Vacatur FR SIGNED.pdf" and "Memo TPS VZ Vacatur Final.pdf," and text "Attached is the signed Venezuela Vacatur Notice. Best, JJ."
- 5. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 4** is a true and correct copy of a DHS Record of Clearance and Approval for the "S1 Action Memo USCIS Notice: Vacatur of January 10, 2025 Temporary Protected Status Decision for Venezuela" signed by Secretary Kristi Noem on January 28, 2025, produced by Defendants bearing Bates number: NTPSA_000003.

6. Attached hereto as Exhibit 5 is a true and correct copy of privilege log entries provided by Defendants on May 19, 2025 and corrected on May 21, 2025, for Privilege Log Document Numbers NTPSA-DHSHQ_00000211, NTPSA-DHSHQ_00000374, NTPSA-DHSHQ_00000632, NTPSA-DHSHQ_00000677, NTPSA-DHSHQ_00000172, NTPSA_USCIS_00001617, NTPSA-DHSHQ_00000667, NTPSA_USCIS_00001620, NTPSA_USCIS_00001618, NTPSA-DHSHQ_00000623, NTPSA_USCIS_00001619, NTPSA-DHSHQ_00000670, and NTPSA-DHSHQ_00000474. The entries are dated between January 26 and January 28, 2025. NTPSA-DHSHQ_00000211 logs an email from Joseph Mazzara to James Percival dated January 26 1:42 PM with subject "FW: TPS VZ Termination: Draft Notice." NTPSA-DHSHQ_00000474 logs an email dated January 28 12:05 PM from Joseph Mazzara to Juliana Blackwell, Senior Advisor Troup Hemenway, Senior Advisor Rob Law, James Percival, Senior Advisor Troy Edgar and DHS spokesperson Tricia McLaughlin, with subject "Re: [Review Request] TPS VZ Vacatur Notice." The remainder are dated between January 27 and 28, with subject "RE: TPS VZ Termination: Data & Policy Matters."

- 7. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 6** is a true and correct copy of privilege log entries provided by Defendants on May 19, 2025 and corrected on May 21, 2025, for Privilege Log Document Numbers NTPSA_USCIS_00001623 and NTPSA_USCIS_00001371.

 NTPSA_USCIS_00001623 is an email dated January 28, 2025 at 12:41 PM from current USCIS Director Nominee Joseph Edlow to Ted Kim, senior leadership with USCIS Refugee, Asylum and International Operations Directorate ("RAIO"), with subject "Venezuela country conditions," and attachment "Relevant quotes from updated Venezuela COI sources (012825)_positive improvements highlighted.docx." NTPSA_USCIS_00001371 is a document titled, "Relevant quotes from updated Venezuela COI sources (012825)_positive improvements highlighted.docx," created January 28, 2025 at 12:35 PM.
- 8. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 7** is a true and correct copy of an email communication produced by Defendants dated Tuesday, January 28, 2025 1:38 PM bearing Bates number: NTPSA_000626. The email is from current USCIS Director Nominee Joseph Edlow to USCIS Acting Chief of Office of Policy & Strategy ("OP&S") Samantha Deshommes to Ihsan Gunduz with

11

12 13

14

15 16

17

18

19

20

21

22 23

24

25 26

27

28

"For your viz, here is the version I am submitting to OGC now." 11. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 10** is a true and correct copy of privilege log entries

subject "FW: Venezuela country conditions," and text "Sam and Ihsan, Connecting you both on the Venezuela TPS issue. Attached is the information pulled together from RAIO. Please share with the OPNS Team working on TPS. Joe."

- 9. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 8** is a true and correct copy of a document produced by Defendants with the original file path "emma k krichinsky uscis dhs gov\Documentss\Documents\RAIO Research 2025 DATED January 27, 2025" and bearing Bates number: NTPSA 000649. Defendants identified Emma Kirchinsky as an employee of USCIS RAIO.
- 10. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 9** is a true and correct copy of an email communication produced by Defendants dated Thursday, January 30, 2025 at 12:10 PM bearing Bates range: NTPSA 000467-NTPSA 000468. The email is from Samantha Deshommes to various USCIS personnel with subject, "URGENT: VZ Draft FRN – Due by 3 pm TODAY," with substantive text redacted, and a subsequent email in the same chain from Samantha Deshommes at 4:21 PM, stating
- provided by Defendants on May 19, 2025 and corrected on May 21, 2025 for Privilege Log Document Numbers NTPSA USCIS 00001503, NTPSA USCIS 00001442, and NTPSA USCIS 00002112. NTPSA USCIS 00001503 is the first log entry Defendants identified as a communication pertaining to the decision to partially vacate TPS for Haiti. It is dated Thursday, February 6 at 5:51 PM, with a redacted subject line, attachment list, and file name. NTPSA USCIS 00002112 is a document with the File Name: "FRN - Haiti TPS Partial Vacatur (DRAFT ONLY 2.7.25).docx," created February 7, 2025 at 4:39 PM. NTPSA USCIS 00001442 is an email dated Tuesday, February 11 at 1:39 PM, with subject "Options paper," and attachment "Options Paper – Haiti TPS.docx."
- 12. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 11** is a true and correct copy of an email communication produced by Defendants dated Wednesday, February 12, 2025 at 6:43 PM bearing Bates number: NTPSA 000465. The email is from Sheila Mahmoudi to Joseph Edlow, copying others, with subject "FRN – Haiti TPS Partial Vacatur (DRAFT ONLY 2.7.25) ARK ops.docx," and text "Ok thanks to

OGC?"

2025.

13. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 12** is a true and correct copy of the transcript for the hearing for Plaintiffs' Motion to Postpone Effective Agency Action before this Court on March 24,

Alex and Amany we have the draft ready. Did you want us to send to OCC or will you send direct to

- 14. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 13** is a true and correct copy of a Department of Homeland Security Record of Clearance and Approval for the Termination of the October 3, 2023 Designation of Venezuela for Temporary Protected Status signed by Secretary Kristi Noem on February 1, 2025, produced by Defendants bearing Bates number: NTPSA 000004.
- 15. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 14** is a true and correct copy of "Table A", which lists the country, date, and duration of all Temporary Protected Status (TPS) extensions between April 2005 and the present.
- 16. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 15** is a true and correct copy of a Department of Homeland Security press release titled "Secretary Noem Rescinds Previous Administration's Extension of Haiti's Temporary Protected Status" published on February 20, 2025. The press release is also available at https://www.dhs.gov/news/2025/02/20/secretary-noem-rescinds-extension-haitis-temporary-protected-status.
- 17. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 16** is a true and correct copy of a report by the U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) on "Temporary Protected Status: Steps Taken to Inform and Communicate Secretary of Homeland Security's Decisions," published April 3, 2020. The report is also available at https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-20-134.pdf.
- 18. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 17** is a true and correct copy of a certified transcript of the January 15, 2025 confirmation hearing of Secretary Kristi Noem. The video is available for viewing at available at https://www.cspan.org/program/senate-committee/homeland-security-secretary-nominee-gov-kristi-noem-testifiesat-confirmation-hearing/654484. At approximately 1:51:50, Secretary Noem states, "[TPS] has been abused and manipulated by the Biden Administration, and that will no longer be allowed . . . and these extensions going forward the way that they are." Secretary Noem adds, "this extension [of TPS] of over 600,000 Venezuelans [] is alarming when

you look at what we've seen in different states including Colorado with gangs doing damage and
harming the individuals and the people that live there." The program was intended to be
temporary[.]"

- 19. Attached as **Exhibit 18** is a true and correct copy of a certified transcript of a January 29, 2025 interview of Secretary Kristi Noem on "Fox and Friends." The video is available for viewing at https://www.foxnews.com/video/6367942790112?msockid=30416397acd261bf24f1707bad686037. At approximately 1:00, Secretary Noem states, "today we signed an executive order within the Department of Homeland Security and a direction that we were not going to follow through on what he did to tie our hands, that we are going to follow the process, evaluate all of these individuals that are in our country, including the Venezuelans that are here and members of TdA [transnational gang Tren de Aragua]. Listen, . . . the people of this country want these dirtbags out. They want their communities to be safe So, this is part of our plan to make sure we are protecting America and keeping it safe again, just like President Trump promised." Secretary Noem described ending TPS for Venezuelans as necessary in order to "evaluate all of these individuals that are in our country."
- 20. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 19** is a true and correct copy of an article by Damita Menezes and Ali Bradley, dated October 2, 2024, titled *Trump on Springfield Haitian migrants:* 'They have to be removed', NEWSNATION, available at https://www.newsnationnow.com/politics/2024-election/trump-springfield-haitian-migrants-removed/. The article includes a video of an interview with President Trump, who, when asked whether Haitian TPS holders in Springfield, Ohio were "legal or illegal" at approximately the 12:00 mark of the video, answered that: "You have to remove [Haitians]; you cannot destroy our country ... In my opinion, it's not legal Absolutely I would revoke [TPS]."
- 21. Attached hereto as **Exhibit 20** is a true and correct copy of a video of a September 18, 2024 campaign speech by then-Senator JD Vance in Raleigh, North Carolina on C-SPAN. The video is available for viewing at https://www.c-span.org/program/campaign-2024/senator-jd-vance-campaigns-in-raleigh-north-carolina/649012. When asked about TPS for Haiti at approximately the 41:00 mark of the video, then-Senator Vance stated: "The media loves to say that the Haitian

migrants, hundreds of thousands of them, by the way . . . they are here legally. And what they mean is that Kamala Harris used two separate programs, mass parole and temporary protective status. She used two programs to wave a wand and to say we're not going to deport those people here. Well, if Kamala Harris waves the wand illegally and says these people are now here legally, I'm still going to call them an illegal alien. An illegal action from Kamala Harris does not make an alien legal."

- 22. Attached as **Exhibit 21** is a true and correct copy of a certified transcript of a February 2, 2025 interview of Secretary Kristi Noem, Missouri Senator Eric Schmitt and Arizona Senator Mark Kelly on the "Meet the Press." The video is available for viewing at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FpeMXrvxHco. At approximately 16:25, Secretary Kristi Noem states "The TPP [sic] program has been abused and it doesn't have integrity right now." At approximately 16:27, Secretary Kristi Noem states: "Folks from Venezuela that have come into this country are members of TdA. And remember, Venezuela purposely emptied out their prisons, emptied out their mental health facilities and sent them to the United States of America. So we are ending that extension of that program, adding some integrity back into it, and this administration is evaluating all of our programs to make sure that they truly are something that is to the benefit of the United States, so they are not for the benefit of criminals."
- 23. Attached as **Exhibit 22** is a true and correct copy of an article by Jonathan Weisman dated September 15, 2024, titled How the False Story of a Gang 'Takeover' in Colorado Reached Trump, N.Y. TIMES, and available at https://www.nytimes.com/2024/09/15/us/politics/trump-auroracolorado-immigration.html. The article claims that President Trump perpetuated a false story on the campaign trail of a gang takeover in Aurora, Colorado.
- 24. Attached as **Exhibit 23** is an article by Robert Farley and Catalina Jaramillo titled Crime Drop in Venezuela Does Not Prove Trump's Claim the Country Is Sending Criminals to U.S., FACTCHECK.ORG (Jun. 14, 2024). It is available at https://www.factcheck.org/2024/06/crimedropin-venezuela-does-not-prove-trumps-claim-the-country-is-sending-criminals-to-u-s/. The article states that there is "no evidence that the Venezuelan government is emptying the prisons or mental hospitals to send them out of the country[.]" The article quotes Carlos Nieto of a Venezuelan NGO monitoring the prison situation in Venezuela stating: "there is nothing that can be affirmed that

Venezuela to go to the United States." Nieto added: "there definitely is no official state policy to that effect." The article quotes Roberto Briceño-León, the founder and director of The Venezuelan Observatory of Violence, that emigrants from Venezuela are "honest workers fleeing the country's poverty, looking for a job and a better future." The article also noted that "[t]he vast majority of those fleeing Venezuela have settled in nearby South American countries."

- 25. Attached as **Exhibit 24** is a true and correct copy of a February 26, 2024 social media post by Secretary Kristi Noem on the X social media platform using the handle "@KristiNoem," which is also available at https://x.com/KristiNoem/status/1762195636491825295. The post contains a video in which Secretary Noem states, "Nations like Venezuela are emptying their prisons of dangerous criminals to send them to America. They are happy to let America's open border be the solution to their problem."
- 26. Attached as **Exhibit 25** is a true and correct copy of a February 28, 2024, social media post by Secretary Krisi Noem on the X social media platform using the handle "@KristiNoem," which is also available at https://x.com/KristiNoem/status/1762650522920652828. In that post, she said, "Venezuela didn't send us their best. They emptied their prisons and sent criminals to America. Deportations need to start on DAY ONE of [President Trump's] term" in office.
- 27. Attached as **Exhibit 26** is a true and correct copy of a March 6, 2024 social media post by Secretary Kristi Noem on the X social media platform using the handle "@KristiNoem," which is also available at https://x.com/KristiNoem/status/1765513039795601862. The post contains a video of Secretary Noem discussing immigration and the caption reads, "[c]ountries like Venezuela are emptying their prisons, their mental institutions, and sending them to America. The White House is facilitating this invasion. They're doing it on purpose."
- 28. Attached as **Exhibit 27** is a true and correct copy of a March 14, 2024 social media post by Secretary Kristi Noem on the X social media platform using the handle "@KristiNoem," which is also available at https://x.com/KristiNoem/status/1768312288560247199. In the post,

8

7

10

9

12

13

11

14

15

16

17 18

19

20

2122

23

24

25

2627

28

Secretary Noem states, "At least 300,000 illegal immigrants from Venezuela have been encountered at the border. Remember, Venezuela emptied their prisons and told them to come to America."

29. Attached as **Exhibit 28** is a true and correct copy of a December 9, 2024 social media

- post by Secretary Kristi Noem on the Instagram social media platform using the handle "@KristiNoem," which is also available at https://www.instagram.com/kristinoem/reel/DDVjJnURRqw/. In the post, she states, "nations like Venezuela are using our open border to solve their own crime and mental health crises."
- 30. I have reviewed, with co-counsel, all Federal Register Notices from all previous TPS designations, re-designations, extensions, and terminations for all countries. In the 35-year history of the TPS statute, and prior to the vacatur and termination of TPS for Venezuela at issue in this litigation, no Secretary has ever terminated a TPS designation on the basis that it was contrary to national interest. In addition, in virtually all instances where a DHS Secretary announced the length of a TPS designation or extension, they did so without elaborating their reasons for choosing that duration and not another duration length. There are only exceedingly rare instances where Secretaries have provided any explanation for the duration of a designation or extension—for instance, in the last extension of TPS for Haiti in 2017 before the termination that never went into effect during the first Trump administration, 82 Fed. Reg. 23380 (May 24, 2017); or where the Secretary identified that there was anticipated recovery over the course of a year in Nicaragua, justifying a 12-month extension, 66 Fed. Reg. 23271 (May 8, 2001). Secretaries have never explained their conclusion that "permitting [TPS beneficiaries] to remain temporarily in the United States" is not "contrary to the national interest." It is also not uncommon for Secretaries to have considered facts both close in time to and further from the determination when conducting a TPS periodic review.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed on June 3, 2025, in San Francisco, California.

	Case 3:25-cv-01766-EMC	Document 166	Filed 06/03/25	Page 11 01 342	
1			<u>/s/ Emilou MacL</u> Emilou MacLean	ean	
2			Emmod WacEcan		
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12					
13					
14					
15					
16					
17					
18					
19					
20					
21					
22					
23					
24					
25					
26					
27 28					
20		9			
	DECLARATION OF EMILOU MA	ACLEAN IN SUPPORT CASE No. 3:25-	T OF MOTION FOR PA -CV-01766-EM	rtial Summary Judgme	NT

From: McDonald, Christina (OGC) Redacted PII

Sent: Friday, January 24, 2025 11:14 PM

To: Edlow, Joseph B Redacted PII

Cc: Baroukh, Nader Redacted PII

Subject: RE: For review by 5 pm Sat: TPS Vacatur for Venezuela

Attach: TPS Vacatur - Venezuela.docx

Joe: Attached is the doc as an attachment.

Btw – the doc is in my OneDrive cloud (not SharePoint). I could move it into SharePoint if you think you can access that instead. I had a similar situation with ICE and CBP earlier this week – but we solved it by having them click on the link and request access.

Christina E. McDonald

Redacted PII

From: Edlow, Joseph B	Redacted PII			
Sent: Friday, January 24, 2025 9:19		·-·-·-		
To: McDonald, Christina (OGC)	Redacted PII	Browne, Rene	Redacted PII	Smith,
Laura (HQ) Redacted PII	; Kelliher, Brian	Redacted PII	LAW, ROB	Redacted PII
Cc: Havranek, John Reda	icted PII ; Barouk	h, Nader R	edacted PII	
Subject: RE: For review by 5 pm Sa	t: TPS Vacatur for Venezue	ela (-
I hate to do this piecemeal but I as an attachment and I'll add in		• •		

From: McDonald, Christina (OGC) Redacted PII Sent: Friday, January 24, 2025 8:39 PM Redacted PII Redacted PII Smith, Laura (HQ) To: Browne, Rene Kelliher, Brian Redacted PII ा; LAW, ROB Redacted PII Edlow, Joseph B < Redacted PII Cc: Havranek, John Redacted PII Baroukh, Nader Redacted PII

Subject: For review by 5 pm Sat: TPS Vacatur for Venezuela

Importance: High

to just incorporate.

You don't often get email from Redacted PII Learn why this is important

nee/Laura, Brian, Rob, and Joe E:

Available, for your review, is the first (rough) draft of the TPS Venezuela Vacatur notice that Nader and I prepared this evening. Joseph Mazzara set our deadline for 1 pm on Sunday.

By 5 pm on Saturday, can you folks complete your review and draft your parts? Then, we can finalize the document on Sunday morning.

Please work in following link: TPS Vacatur - Venezuela.docx (Joe Edlow – The system won't let me tag you, and it tells me here you don't have access. There are 2 other ways to get you access, and I did both: (1) I sent you an email with a link (Try that). (2) If that doesn't work, please click on this link – then click on the "request access" link. Once I accept that request, you should be able to access the document).

Thank you.

Christina E. McDonald Associate General Counsel for Regulatory Affairs Office of the General Counsel U.S. Department of Homeland Security

Redacted PII

CONFIDENTIAL NTPSA_000262

From: Blackwell, Juliana Redacted PII

Sent: Tuesday, January 28, 2025 6:12 PM

To: PERCIVAL, JAMES Redacted PII Mazzara, Joseph

Redacted PII

Cc: BARROW, CLARK Redacted PII McDonald, Christina (OGC)

Redacted PII

Subject: Venezuela Vacatur Notice

Attach: Venezuela - Vacatur - FR - SIGNED.pdf; Memo - TPS VZ Vacatur Final.pdf

Attached is the signed Venezuela Vacatur Notice.

Best,

JJ

Juliana J. Blackwell Office of the Executive Secretary Department of Homeland Security

Redacted PII

FOR VENEZUELA

SUMMARY: USCIS FRM - VACATUR OF JANUARY 10 2025 TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS DECISION

TYPE OF ACTION: S1 SIGNATURE

Z6020-SZ 53

DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECUR		STORM #	. SENIOR LIAISON OFFICER:
RECORD OF CLEARANCE AND APPRO		25-07092	LAWRENCE INDYK
LEAD COMPONENT: MGMT-SE	DATE S	UBMITTED TO \$1 FO: 1/28/25	DRAFT RECEIVED DATE: 1/28/25

SUMMARY OF DOCUMENT: S1 ACTION MEMO - USCIS NOTICE: VACATUR OF JANUARY 10, 2025 TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS DECISION FOR VENEZUELA

ATTACHMENTS:

- A. DECISION DOCUMENT
- B. PACKAGE FROM JANUARY 10, 2025 DRAFT FEDERAL REGISTER NOTICE
- C. PACKAGE FROM JANUARY 10, 2025 TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS LEGAL AUTHORITY
- D. PACKAGE FROM JANUARY 10, 2025 USCIS COUNTRY CONDITIONS REPORT
- E. PACKAGE FROM JANUARY 10, 2025 DOS RECOMMENDATION AND COUNTRY CONDITIONS
- F.PACKAGE FROM JANUARY 10, 2025 D1 MEMO
- G. PACKAGE FROM JANUARY 10, 2025 FEDERAL REGISTER NOTICE DATED JANUARY 17, 2025
- H. PACKAGE FROM JANUARY 10, 2025 DECISION DOCUMENT SIGNED JANUARY 10, 2025

OFFICE	Signature	DATE	COMMENTS
SENIOR ADVISOR (ROBERT LAW)	Cleared	1/28/25	
SENIOR ADVISOR (JIMMY PERCIVAL)	Cleared	1/28/25	
SENIOR ADVISOR (TROUP HEMENWAY)	CLEARED	1/28/25	
SENIOR ADVISOR (TROY EDGAR)	Though	1/28/25	
AS2	ML	1/28/24	
S1	That her	128/25	
AFTER REVIEW RETURN TO NANCY CLARK, EXECUTIVE			TELEPHONE

DOCID	CUSTODIAN	FROM	0	99	DATE TIME SENT DATE TIME RCVD	DATE TIME RCVD	SUBJECT	FILENAME	DATE TIME CRTD DATE TIME MOD	DATE TIME MOD	DOCDATE	TAG - Privilege	TAG - Privitege Description
						ш.							Email communications reflecting predecisional, deliberative discussions among DHS counsel
NTPSA- DHSHQ_00000211	James Percival	Mazzara, Joe	PERCIVAL, JAMES		1/26/2025 13:42	1/26/2025 13:42 Notice	ation: Draft	FW: TPS VZ Termination: Draft Notice.htm			AC 1/26/2025 De	AC - Attorney Client; DP - 1/26/2025 Deliberative Process;	regarding policy options and legal advice for Venezuela TPS.
NTPSA- DHSHO DODORZZA	losent Mazzara	linstruction Sentler	PHAM TONY: McDonald (Phietina/DGC)	PERCIVAL, JAMES; Baroukh, Nader; Ketliher, Brian; Browne, Rene; Smith, Laura (HQ); Havranek, John; LAW, ROB	86-01-5006/26/1	R R R R R R R R R	RE: TPS VZ Termination: 1/27/2005; 10:28 Data & Politiv Matters	RE: TPS VZ Termination: Data & Policy Matters htm			AC 1/27/2025 De	AC - Attorney Client; DP - Deliherative Process:	Email communications reflecting predecisional, deliberative discussions among DHS counsel and DHS regarding policy options and tegal advice for Viversuria a TDS.
		GUNDUZ, HSAN	PHAM, TONY		1/27/2025 10:46	R 1/27/2025 10:46 D	ë	RE: TPS VZ Termination: Data & Policy Matters . Htm				AC - Attorney Client; DP - Deliberative Process;	Emai communications reflecting predecisional, deliberative discussions among DHS counsel and DHS regarding policy options and legal advice for Venezuela PPs.
910	Joseph B. Edlow	Mazzara, Joseph	PERCIVAL, JAMES; Kettiher, Brian; LAW, ROB; McDonadi, Christina (DGC); PHAM, TONY	Baroukh, Nader; Browne, Rene; Smith, Laura (HQ); Havranek, John; Edlow, Joseph B		1/28/2025 11:58	ë	Re: TPS VZ Termination: Data & Policy Matters .htm			AC 1/28/2025 De	AC - Attorney Client; DP - 1/28/2025 Deliberative Process;	Email communications reflecting predecisional, deliberative discussions among DHS courset and DHS regarding policy options and legal advice for Venezuela TPS.
NTPSA_USCIS_000016	Joseph B. Edlow	Mazzara, Joseph	PERCIVAL, JAMES; Edlow, Joseph B; Kelliher, Brian; LAW, ROB; PicDonald, Christina (OGC); PHAM, TONY	Baroukh, Nader; Browne, Rene; Smith, Laura (HQ); Havranek, John		1/28/2025 12:05	:i	Re: TPS VZ Termination: Data & Policy Matters .htm			AC 1/28/2025 De	AC - Attorney Client; DP - 1/28/2025 Deliberative Process;	Email communications reflecting predecisional, deliberative discussions among DHS coursel and DHS regarding policy options and legal advice for Venezuela PES.
NTPSA_USCIS_000016	Joseph B. Edlow	Mazzara, Joseph	LAW, ROB ; PERCIVAL, JAMES ; Edlow, Joseph B ; Kelliher, Brian ; McDonald, Christina (OGC) ; PHAM, TONY	Baroukh, Nader; Browne, Rene; Smith, Laura (HQ); Havranek, John	1/28/2025 12:43	R 1/28/2025 12:43 D	Re: TPS VZ Termination: 1/28/2025 12:43 Data & Policy Matters	Re: TPS VZ Termination: Data & Policy Matters .htm			AC 1/28/2025 De	AC - Attorney Client; DP - Deliberative Process;	Email communications reflecting predecisional, deliberative discussions among DHS coursel and DHS regarding policy options and legal advice for Venezuela PPS.
NTPSA_USCIS_000016	Joseph B. Edlow	Mazzara, Joseph	Edlow, Joseph B; PERCIVAL, JAMES; Keuther, Brian; LAW, ROB; PicDonald, Christina (OGC); P.HAM, TONY	Baroukh, Nader ; Browne, Rene ; Smith, Laura (HQ) ; Havranek, John	1/28/2025 12:02	R 1/28/2025 12:02 D	Re: TPS VZ Termination: 1/28/2025 12:02 Data & Policy Matters	Re: TPS VZ Termination: Data & Policy Matters .htm			AC 1/28/2025 De	AC - Attorney Client; DP - 1/28/2025 Deliberative Process;	Email communications reflecting predecisional, deliberative discussions among DHS coursel and DHS regarding policy options and legal advice for Venezuela PPS.
NTPSA- DHSHQ_0000172	James Percival	PERCÎVAL, JAMES	LAW, ROB		1/28/2025 10:57	R 1/28/2025 10:57 D		RE: TPS VZ Termination: Data & Policy Matters. Jrtm			AC 1/28/2025 De	AC-Attorney Client; DP- Deliberative Process;	Final communications reflecting predecisional, detiberative glocussions among DPS counted and DHS regarding policy options and tegal advice for Venezuela TPS. Communications regarding predecisional and deliberative discussion on policy options.
NTPSA DHSHQ_00000474 NTPSA DHSHQ_00000623	S2TDE Tony Pham	Mazzara, Joseph PHAM, TONY	Blackwell, Juliana; HEMENWAY, TROUP; LAW, ROB; PERCIVAL, JAMES; EDGAR, TROY; McLaughlin, Tricia Rosenbum, Marc; GUNDUZ, HSAN	Fauquet, Stephanie; BARROW, CLARK	1/28/2025 12:05	Re: [Review Reque 1/28/2025 12:05 VZ Vacatur Notice RE: TPS VZ Termin 1/28/2025 12:32 Data & Policy Math	stjTPS ation: ers	Re: [Review Request] TPS VZ Vacatur Notice.htm RE: TPS VZ Termination: Data & Policy Matters.htm			AC 1/28/2025 De 1/28/2025 DP	AC - Attorney Client; DP - 1/28/2025 Deliberative Process; 1/28/2025 DP - Deliberative Process;	Email communications reflecting predecisional, deliberative discussions regarding Venezuela IPS
	Tony Pham	Mazzara, Joseph	PERCIVAL, JAMES; Kelliher, Brian; LAW, ROB; McDonald, Christina (OGC); PHAM, TONY	Baroukh, Nader ; Browne, Rene ; Smith, Laura (HQ) ; Havranek, John ; Edlow, Joseph B	1/28/2025 11:58	R 1/28/2025 11:58 D	Re: TPS VZ Termination: 1/28/2025 11:58 Data & Policy Matters	Re: TPS VZ Termination: Data & Policy Matters .htm			1/28/2025 AC	1/28/2025 AC - Attorney Client;	Email communications among DHS counset regarding requirements for TPS administrative record
NTPSA- DHSHQ_00000670	Tony Pham	Mazzara, Joseph	LAW, ROB; PERCMAL, JAMES; Edlow, Joseph B; Kelliher, Brian: McDonald, Christina (OGC); PHAM, TONY	Baroukh, Nader; Browne, Rene; Smith, Laura (HQ); Havranek, John	1/28/2025 12:43	F 1/28/2025 12:43 D	Re: TPS VZ Termination: 1/28/2025 12:43 Data & Policy Matters	Re: TPS VZ Termination: Data & Policy Matters .htm			1/28/2025 AC	AC - Attorney Client	Email communications among DHS counsel regarding requirements for TPS administrative record
NTPSA DHSHQ_00000677	Tony Pham	GUNDUZ, HSAN	PHAM, TONY		1/28/2025 10:36	R 1/28/2025 10:36 D	RE: TPS VZ Termination: 1/28/2025 10:36 Data & Policy Matters	RE: TPS VZ Termination: Data & Policy Matters .htm			AC 1/28/2025 De	AC - Attorney Client; DP - 1/28/2025 Deliberative Process;	Email communications reflecting predecisional, deliberative discussions among DHS coursel and DHS regarding policy options and legal advice for Venezuela PPS.
NTPSA_USCIS_000002	CFOKMS							Venezueta memo_20250130_AD1 PB_OPS Response_Scott (Clean),pdf	1/31/2025 13:22	1/31/2025 13:23	1/31/2025 DP	1/31/200513:22 1/31/200513:23 1/31/2005 DP - Deliberative Process	Pre-decisional, deliberative memorandum from USCB Director providing mental impressions and recommendations to Secretary relating to Venezuela TPS

DOCID	CUSTODÍAN	FROM	То	22	DATE TIME SENT	DATE TIME RCVD	SUBJECT	ATTACHLIST	FILENAME	DATE TIME CRTD	дом эмте тиме мор	DOCDATE	DOCDATE TAG-Privilege	TAG - Privilege Description
								Relevant quotes						
								from updated	_					
								Venezuela CO	_					Email communications
								sonices	_				_	reflecting predecisional,
							Venezuela	(012825)_positive					DP-	deliberative discussions
TPSA USCIS 000016							country	improvements	_				Deliberative	among DHS regarding
	Joseph B. Edlow	Kim, Ted H	Edlow, Joseph B		1/28/2025 12:41	1/28/2025 12:41 conditions	conditions	highlighted.docx	nighlighted.docx Venezuela country conditions.htm			1/28/2025 Process;	Process;	Venezuela TPS.
														Predecisional,
									_					deliberative
									Relevant quotes from updated Venezuela				DP-	communications
TPSA USCIS 000013									COI sources (012825)_positive				Deliberative	regarding Venezuela TPS
	Samantha L. Deshommes								improvements highlighted.docx	1/28/2025 12:35	1/28/2025	/28/2025 12:38 1/28/2025 Process		decisionmaking.

Case 3:25-cv-01766-EMC Document 166 Filed 06/03/25 Page 27 of 342 Redacted PII Edlow, Joseph B From: Redacted PII Tuesday, January 28, 2025 1:34 PM **Sent:** Deshommes, Samantha L To: GUNDUZ, IHSAN FW: Venezuela country conditions Subject: Attach:

Sam and Ihsan,

Connecting you both on the Venezuela TPS issue. Attached is the information pulled together from RAIO. Please share with the OPNS Team working on TPS. Joe

- US rejects Venezuelan President Maduro's reelection, but keeps financial lifeline for his government, The Associated Press, Jan. 18, 2025.
- US recognizes Venezuela's opposition candidate as president-elect months after the disputed election, The Associated Press, Nov. 19, 2024.
- Venezuela: Reversing the Slide into Dictatorship, International Crisis Group, Oct. 15, 2024.
- Independent election experts legitimize tally sheets Venezuela's opposition says prove Maduro lost, The Associated Press, Oct. 2, 2024.

>; Ridley, Sasha M <

🏲; Noncent, Karine A <

Redacted

Redacted

To: Ezeldin, Amany S <

Redacted

Mason, Rená E <

NTPSA_000468

Connie L < Redacted >; King, Alexander R < Redacted >

Subject: URGENT: VZ Draft FRN - Due by 3 pm TODAY

Importance: High

Hi all,



Thank you!

Sam

Samantha Deshommes (Acting) Chief, Office of Policy & Strategy U.S. Citizenship & Immigration Services, DHS Redacted

This email, along with any attachments, is intended solely for the use of the addressee(s) and may contain information that is sensitive or protected by applicable law. Unauthorized use or dissemination of this email and any attachments is strictly prohibited. If you are not the intended recipient, please notify the sender and delete or destroy all copies.

DOCID	CUSTODIAN	FROM	To	၁၁	DATE TIME SENT	DATE TIME RCVD	SUBJECT	ATTACHLIST	FILENAME	DATE TIME CRTD	DATE TIME MOD	DATE TIME MOD DOCDATE TAG - Privilege	3 - Privilege	TAG - Privilege Description
			_											
						_							<u></u>	Email communications reflecting
						_	REDACTED as reflecting					AC-A	AC - Attorney pre	predecisional, deliberative
							subject of privileged	REDACTED as reflecting subject of REDACTED as reflecting	REDACTED as reflecting			Client	Client; DP dis	discussions among DHS counsel and
NTPSA USCIS 000015							Attorney Client	privileged Attorney-Client	subject of privileged Attorney-			Delibe	Deliberative DH	OHS regarding policy options and
03	Joseph B. Edlow	Edlow, Joseph B	PERCIVAL, JAMES LAW, ROB	LAW, ROB	2/6/2025 17:51		2/6/2025 17:51 Communications	Communications	Client Communications			2/6/2025 Process;		legal advice for Haiti TPS.
												AC-A	AC - Attorney	
						_						Client	Client; DP - Pre	Predecisional, deliberative
NTPSA USCIS 000014	*		Calkins, Aaron L;									Delibe	Deliberative cor	communication regarding attorney
42	Joseph B. Edlow	Deshommes, Samantha L Edlow, Joseph B	Edlow, Joseph B		2/11/2025 13:39	2/11/2025 13:39 2/11/2025 13:39 Options paper	Options paper	Options Paper - Haiti TPS.docx	Options paper.htm			2/11/2025 Process;		recommendations for Venezuela TPS.
												AC A	AC-Attorney Pre	Predecisional, deliberative draft
						_						Client	Client; DP - doc	document reflecting possible policy
NTPSA USCIS 000021	-								FRN - Halti TPS Partial Vacatur			Delibe	Deliberative dec	decision for Halti TPS sent among
175	Joseph B. Edlow								(DRAFT ONLY 2,7,25),docx	2/7/2025 16:38	2/7/2025 16:39 2/7/2025 16:44 2/12/2025 Process	1 2/12/2025 Proces		DHS counsel for legal review.

Mahmoudi, Sheila C < Redacted From: **Sent:** Wednesday, February 12, 2025 6:43 PM Edlow, Joseph B < To: Redacted Nolan, Connie L < Redacted >; Selby, Cara M (Carrie) Cc: Redacted , King, Alexander R ; Deshommes, Samantha L Redacted Ezeldin, Amany S Redacted Redacted **Subject:** For USCIS input: TPS Haiti Vacatur Notice FRN - Haiti TPS Partial Vacatur (DRAFT ONLY 2.7.25) ARK ops.docx Attach:

Ok thanks to Alex and Amany we have the draft ready. Did you want us to send to OCC or will you be sending direct to OGC?

-Sheila

Exhibit 12

PAGES 1 - 123

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA

Before The Honorable Edward M. Chen, Judge

NATIONAL TPS ALLIANCE, MARIELA
GONZALEZ, FREEDY JOSE ARAPE
RIVAS, M.H., CECILIA DANIELA
GONZALEZ HERRERA, AHA CECILIA
PURICA HERNANDEZ, E.R., and
HENDRINA VIVAS CASTILLO,

Plaintiffs,

VS. NO. 3:25-CV-01766-EMC

KRISTI NOEM, in her official capacity as Secretary of Homeland Security, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY, and UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Defendants.

San Francisco, California Monday, March 24, 2025

TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

APPEARANCES:

For Plaintiffs:

UCLA School of Law

35 Charles E. Young Drive East

Box 951476

Los Angeles, California 90095

BY: AHILAN T. ARULANANTHAM, ATTORNEY AT LAW

(APPEARANCES CONTINUED ON FOLLOWING PAGE)

REPORTED BY: April Wood Brott, CSR No. 13782

Official United States Reporter

APPEARANCES: (CONTINUED)

For Plaintiffs:

ACLU Foundation of Northern California

39 Drumm Street

San Francisco, California 94111

BY: EMILOU MACLEAN, ATTORNEY AT LAW AMANDA YOUNG, ATTORNEY AT LAW

National Day Laborer Organizing Network

1030 S. Arroyo Parkway, Suite 106

Pasadena, California 91105

BY: JESSICA KARP BANSAL, ATTORNEY AT LAW

LAUREN M. WILFONG, ATTORNEY AT LAW

Haitian Bridge Alliance 4560 Alvarado Canyon Road San Diego, California 92120

BY: ERIK M. CREW, ATTORNEY AT LAW

For Defendants:

DOJ/Civil/Office of Immigration Litigation

P.O. Box 868 Ben Franklin Station

Washington, DC 20044

BY: SARAH L. VUONG, ATTORNEY AT LAW

ANNA DICHTER, ATTORNEY AT LAW

2.1

decision based on an assessment of country conditions, based on foreign relations and this sort of thing, but really kind of looking at procedurally whether Secretary Mayorkas essentially screwed up and caused confusion, did something in violation of the TPS statute, created a sort of procedural problem that needed to be fixed.

Putting aside the merits of that, isn't that the kind of thing that is not necessarily within the agency's expertise and doesn't depend on the records of individual TPS beneficiaries or specific facts about the country? It could have been about any country. I mean, it didn't have to be about -- if he had done the same thing with Haiti or El Salvador, the same arguments would be made.

So it doesn't seem to even be related to the country.

It's more about the process. Isn't that the kind of thing that is reviewable?

MS. VUONG: No, Your Honor.

THE COURT: All right. Tell me why.

MS. VUONG: Looking at the vacated decision from Ramos v. Wolf, the Ninth Circuit talks about the merits of these decisions, and those merits aren't reviewable. And here, looking at registration, that's a discretionary function of the statute. The statute gives the Secretary the discretion to determine how registration takes place and when. And so Plaintiffs are correct that these overlapping registrations can

take place, but that's within the discretion of the Secretary on how that registration should take place.

So here, the Secretary herself has that knowledge and that ability, that the statute gives her that ability to determine whether or not, in her discretion, she thinks this is the way that the registration should be taking place, and she uses that to decide to vacate the decision extending TPS for Venezuela.

And if you're looking for the statutes that I'm discussing, it's 1154(c)(1)(A), sub-Romanette iv, which says, "To the extent and in a manner which the Secretary establishes, the alien registers for temporary protected status under this section during registration period."

And I believe there's another. The period of validity is subsection (d)(2). The Attorney General may stagger the period's ability of documentation and authorization. So both of those statutes are discretionary in how the Secretary sets up the registration periods.

THE COURT: So it's funny. It depends on who's arguing what. To the extent that there's an argument that any secretary, including Secretary Mayorkas, had the ability to determine the manner of registration and to stagger periods, etcetera, etcetera, there's an argument that that was committed to his discretion in his initial. But then you're saying that if vacatur revisiting is within the inherent power of the next secretary, she also has the same power to exercise her

THE COURT: No. I understand the arguments, and you have an organization here as represented, and it's provided by declaration or substantiated by declaration that this is a membership organization that is nationwide with members in all states. Whether that's relevant or not, I don't know. We'll figure that out. All right? All right. Thank you, everyone. THE COURTROOM DEPUTY: This hearing is concluded. (The proceedings concluded at 12:18 P.M.) ---000---CERTIFICATE OF REPORTER I certify that the foregoing is a correct transcript from the record of proceedings in the above-entitled matter. DATE: Friday, March 21, 2025 April Wood Brott April Wood Brott, CSR No. 13782

Exhibit 13

Case 3:25-cv-0)1766-EMC Docu	ıment 166 F	iled 06 47672:319 0	B.GJE03424 NO% (944)20 IS
				.SUTAT.S.
у Рвотестер	ядяочмэТ яоз дэлхэизУ	23 DESIGNATION OF	ои ое тне Остовек 3, 20	SUMMARY: TERMINATI
	NO	ITAM903NLS :NOIT	JA 10 34YĪ	E8
	HOMELAND SECURITY	STORM#	SENIOR LIAISON OFFICE	R:
LEAD COMPONENT: FRO		25-07083	DAWRENCE INDYK	
SUMMARY OF DOCU PROTECTED STATUS.	MENT: TERMINATION OF TH	Е Остовек 3, 2023	DESIGNATION OF VENEZUE	la for Temporary
OFFICE	SIGNATURE	DATE	COMMENTS	
SENIOR ADVISOR	JOSEPH MAZZARA	1/31		
Senior Advisor		C	Reared via e-	mail.
Senior Advisor				63
SECRETARY	Marine)	7-1-25		
AFTER REVIEW RETURN TO NANCY CLARK, EXECUTIVE			TELEPHONE	
PPROVED FOR AUTOPEN:	YES NO DATE AND	INITIALS FOR AUTOPEN	Approval:	

Exhibit 14

TABLE A

DU	DURATION OF TPS EXTENSIONS (APRIL 2005-PRESENT)			
Country	Date	Duration	Citation	
Afghanistan	25-Sep-2023	18 months	88 Fed. Reg. 65728-65737 (Sept. 25, 2023)	
Burma (Myanmar)	27-Sep-2022	18 months	87 Fed. Reg. 58515-58524 (Sept. 27, 2022)	
Burma (Myanmar)	25-Mar-2024	18 months	89 Fed. Reg. 20682-20690 (Mar. 25, 2024)	
Cameroon	10-Oct-2023	18 months	88 Fed. Reg. 69945-69953 (Oct. 10, 2023)	
El Salvador	21-Aug-2007	18 months	72 Fed. Reg. 46649-46653 (Aug. 21, 2007)	
El Salvador	1-Oct-2008	18 months	73 Fed. Reg. 57128-57133 (Oct. 1, 2008)	
El Salvador	9-Jul-2010	18 months	75 Fed. Reg. 39556-39559 (July 9, 2010)	
El Salvador	11-Jan-2012	18 months	77 Fed. Reg. 1710-1715 (Jan. 11, 2012)	
El Salvador	30-May-2013	18 months	78 Fed. Reg. 32418-32424 (May 30, 2013)	
El Salvador	7-Jan-2015	18 months	80 Fed. Reg. 893-899 (Jan. 7, 2015)	
El Salvador	8-Jul-2016	18 months	81 Fed. Reg. 44645-44651 (July 8, 2016)	
El Salvador	21-Jun-2023	18 months	88 Fed. Reg. 40282-40294 (June 21, 2023)	
El Salvador	17-Jan-2025	18 months	90 Fed. Reg. 5953-5961 (Jan. 17, 2025)	
Ethiopia	15-Apr-2024	18 months	89 Fed. Reg. 26172-26180 (Apr. 15, 2024)	
Haiti	19-May-2011	18 months	76 Fed. Reg. 29000-29004 (May 19, 2011)	
Haiti	1-Oct-2012	18 months	77 Fed. Reg. 59942-59943 (Oct. 1, 2012)	
Haiti	3-Mar-2014	18 months	79 Fed. Reg. 11808-11814 (Mar. 3, 2014)	
Haiti	25-Aug-2015	18 months	80 Fed. Reg. 51582-51588 (Aug. 25, 2015)	
Haiti	26-Jan-2023	18 months	88 Fed. Reg. 5022-5032 (Jan. 26, 2023)	
Haiti	1-Jul-2024	18 months	89 Fed. Reg. 54484-54496 (July 1, 2024)	
Honduras	29-May-2007	18 months	72 Fed. Reg. 29529-29534 (May 29, 2007)	
Honduras	1-Oct-2008	18 months	73 Fed. Reg. 57133-57138 (Oct. 1, 2008)	
Honduras	5-May-2010	18 months	75 Fed. Reg. 24734-24737 (May 5, 2010)	
Honduras	4-Nov-2011	18 months	76 Fed Reg. 68488-68493 (Nov. 4, 2011)	
Honduras	3-Apr-2013	18 months	78 Fed. Reg. 20123-20128 (Apr. 3, 2013)	
Honduras	16-Oct-2014	18 months	79 Fed. Reg. 62170-62176 (Oct. 16, 2014)	
Honduras	16-May-2016	18 months	81 Fed. Reg. 30331-30337 (May 16, 2016)	
Honduras	21-Jun-2023	18 months	88 Fed. Reg. 40294-40304 (June 21, 2023)	
Nepal	26-Oct-2016	18 months	81 Fed. Reg. 74470-74475 (Oct. 26, 2016)	
Nepal	21-Jun-2023	18 months	88 Fed. Reg. 40317-40328 (June 21, 2023)	
Nicaragua	29-May-2007	18 months	72 Fed. Reg. 29534-29539 (May 29, 2007)	
Nicaragua	1-Oct-2008	18 months	73 Fed. Reg. 57138-57143 (Oct. 1, 2018)	
Nicaragua	5-May-2010	18 months	75 Fed. Reg. 24737-24740 (May 5, 2010)	
Nicaragua	4-Nov-2011	18 months	76 Fed. Reg. 68493-68498 (Nov. 4, 2011)	
Nicaragua	3-Apr-2013	18 months	78 Fed Reg. 20128-20133 (Apr. 3, 2013)	
Nicaragua	16-Oct-2014	18 months	79 Fed. Reg. 62176-62182 (Oct. 16, 2014)	
Nicaragua	16-May-2016	18 months	81 Fed. Reg. 30325-30331 (May 16, 2016)	
Nicaragua	21-Jun-2023	18 months	88 Fed. Reg. 40294-40304 (June 21, 2023)	
Somalia	27-Jul-2006	18 months	71 Fed. Reg. 42653-42658 (July 27, 2006)	
Somalia	12-Mar-2008	18 months	73 Fed. Reg. 13245-13249 (Mar. 12, 2008)	
Somalia	27-Jul-2009	18 months	74 Fed. Reg. 37043-37049 (July 27, 2009)	

Somalia	2-Nov-2010	18 months	75 Fed. Reg. 67383-67386 (Nov. 2, 2010)
Somalia Somalia	1-May-2012	18 months	77 Fed. Reg. 25723-25728 (May 1, 2012)
Somalia Somalia	1-Nov-2012	18 months	
Somalia Somalia	1-Nov-2015 1-Jun-2015	18 months	78 Fed. Reg. 65690-65695 (Nov. 1, 2013) 80 Fed. Reg. 31056-31061 (June 1, 2015)
Somalia	17-Jan-2017	18 months	82 Fed. Reg. 4905-4911 (Jan. 17, 2017)
Somalia	27-Aug-2018	18 months	83 Fed. Reg. 43695-43700 (Aug. 27, 2018)
Somalia	11-Mar-2020	18 months	85 Fed. Reg. 14229-14235 (Mar. 11, 2020)
Somalia	22-Jul-2021	18 months	86 Fed. Reg. 38744-38753 (July 22, 2021)
Somalia	13-Mar-2023	18 months	88 Fed. Reg. 15434-15443 (Mar. 13, 2023)
Somalia	22-Jul-2024	18 months	89 Fed. Reg. 59135-59143 (July 22, 2024)
South Sudan	9-Jan-2013	18 months	78 Fed. Reg. 1866-1872 (Jan. 9, 2013)
South Sudan	2-Sep-2014	18 months	79 Fed. Reg. 52019-52027 (Sept. 2, 2014)
South Sudan	25-Jan-2016	18 months	81 Fed, Reg. 4051-4059 (Jan. 25, 2016)
South Sudan	21-Sep-2017	18 months	82 Fed. Reg. 44205-44211 (Sept. 21, 2017)
South Sudan	5-Apr-2019	18 months	84 Fed. Reg. 13688-13694 (Apr. 5, 2019)
South Sudan	2-Nov-2020	18 months	85 Fed. Reg. 69344-69351 (Nov. 2, 2020)
South Sudan	3-Mar-2022	18 months	87 Fed. Reg. 12190-12201 (Mar. 3, 2022)
South Sudan	21-Aug-2023	18 months	88 Fed. Reg. 56864-56872 (Aug. 21, 2023)
Sudan	2-Sep-2005	18 months	70 Fed. Reg. 52429-52433 (Sept. 2, 2005)
Sudan	8-Mar-2007	18 months	72 Fed. Reg. 10541-10546 (Mar. 8, 2007)
Sudan	14-Aug-2008	18 months	73 Fed. Reg. 47606-47611 (Aug. 14, 2008)
Sudan	31-Dec-2009	18 months	74 Fed. Reg. 69355-69361 (Dec. 31, 2009)
Sudan	13-Oct-2011	18 months	76 Fed. Reg. 63635-63640 (Oct. 13, 2011)
Sudan	9-Jan-2013	18 months	78 Fed. Reg. 1872-1878 (Jan. 9, 2013)
Sudan	2-Sep-2014	18 months	79 Fed. Reg. 52027-52033 (Sept. 2, 2014)
Sudan	25-Jan-2016	18 months	81 Fed. Reg. 4045-4051 (Jan. 25, 2016)
Sudan	21-Aug-2023	18 months	88 Fed. Reg. 56864-56872 (Aug. 21, 2023)
Sudan	17-Jan-2025	18 months	90 Fed. Reg. 5944-5953 (Jan. 17, 2025)
Syria	17-Jun-2013	18 months	78 Fed. Reg. 36223-36229 (June 17, 2013)
Syria	5-Jan-2015	18 months	80 Fed. Reg. 245-252 (Jan. 5, 2015)
Syria	1-Aug-2016	18 months	81 Fed. Reg. 50533-50541 (Aug. 1, 2016)
Syria	5-Mar-2018	18 months	83 Fed. Reg. 9329-9336 (Mar. 5, 2018)
Syria	23-Sep-2019	18 months	84 Fed. Reg. 49751-49757 (Sept. 23, 2019)
Syria	19-Mar-2021	18 months	86 Fed. Reg. 14946-14952 (Mar. 19, 2021)
Syria	1-Aug-2022	18 months	87 Fed. Reg. 46982-46991 (Aug. 1, 2022)
Syria	29-Jan-2024	18 months	89 Fed. Reg. 5562-5571 (Jan. 29, 2024)
Ukraine	21-Aug-2023	18 months	88 Fed. Reg. 56872-56880 (Aug. 21, 2023)
Ukraine	17-Jan-2025	18 months	90 Fed. Reg. 5936-5944 (Jan. 17, 2025)
Venezuela	8-Sep-2022	18 months	87 Fed. Reg. 55024-55032 (Sept. 8, 2022)
Venezuela	3-Oct-2023	18 months	88 Fed. Reg. 68130-68139 (Oct. 3, 2023)
Venezuela	17-Jan-2025	18 months	90 Fed. Reg. 5961-5972 (Jan. 17, 2025)
Yemen	4-Jan-2017	18 months	82 Fed. Reg. 859-866 (Jan. 4, 2017)
Yemen	14-Aug-2018	18 months	83 Fed. Reg. 40307-40313 (Aug. 14, 2018)
Yemen	2-Mar-2020	18 months	85 Fed. Reg. 12313-12319 (Mar. 2, 2020)
1 0111011	2 IVIGI 2020	10 1110111113	05 1 00. 10g. 12515 12517 (19101. 2, 2020)

Yemen	9-Jul-2021	18 months	86 Fed. Reg. 36295-36302 (July 9, 2021)
Yemen	3-Jan-2023	18 months	88 Fed. Reg. 94-103 (Jan. 3, 2023)
Yemen	10-Jul-2024	18 months	89 Fed. Reg. 56765-56773 (July 10, 2024)
Burundi	2-Sep-2005	12 months	70 Fed. Reg. 52425-52429 (Sept. 2, 2005)
Burundi	14-Sep-2006	12 months	71 Fed. Reg. 54300-54304 (Sept. 14, 2006)
El Salvador	15-Jun-2006	12 months	71 Fed. Reg. 34637-34641 (June 15, 2006)
Honduras	31-Mar-2006	12 months	71 Fed. Reg. 16328-16333 (Mar. 31, 2006)
Liberia	16-Aug-2005	12 months	70 Fed. Reg. 48176-48179 (Aug. 16, 2005)
Nicaragua	31-Mar-2006	12 months	71 Fed. Reg. 16333-16338 (Mar. 31, 2006)
Somalia	29-Jul-2005	12 months	70 Fed. Reg. 43895-43899 (July 29, 2005)
Guinea	22-Mar-2016	6 months	81 Fed. Reg. 15339-15345 (Mar. 22, 2016)
Haiti	24-May-2017	6 months	82 Fed. Reg. 23820-23837 (May 24, 2024)
Honduras	15-Dec-2017	6 months	82 Fed. Reg. 59630-59636 (Dec. 15, 2017)
Liberia		6 months	81 Fed. Reg. 15328-15334 (Mar. 22, 2016)
Sierra Leone	22-Mar-2016	6 months	81 Fed. Reg. 15334-15339 (Mar. 22, 2016)

Exhibit 15



U.S. Department of Homeland Security

Secretary Noem Rescinds Previous Administration's Extension of Haiti's Temporary Protected Status

"President Trump and I are returning TPS to its original status: temporary." - Secretary Noem

WASHINGTON – Today, Secretary Noem vacated a decision by the previous administration to extend Haiti's Temporary Protect Status (TPS) by 18 months. As part of this move, Haiti's TPS will end on August 3, 2025, unless extended. This is part of President Trump's promise to rescind policies that were magnets for illegal immigration and inconsistent with the law.

TPS is a type of immigration status available to nationals of certain designated countries that allows aliens, **even if they entered the country illegally**, the ability to reside **temporarily** in the U.S. The Secretary of Homeland Security is authorized to designate a foreign country for TPS if there is an ongoing armed conflict, an environmental disaster, or extraordinary and temporary conditions.

For decades the TPS system has been exploited and abused. For example, Haiti has been designated for TPS since 2010. The data shows each extension of the country's TPS designation allowed more Haitian nationals, even those who entered the U.S. illegally, to qualify for legal protected status.

In May of 2011, DHS estimated that **57,000** Haitians were eligible to register for TPS. In August 2021, DHS estimated that **155,000** Haitians were eligible under the new designation. And by July 2024, the estimate skyrocketed to **520,694**.

A statement from a DHS spokeswoman:

"Biden and Mayorkas attempted to tie the hands of the Trump administration by extending Haiti's Temporary Protected Status by 18 months—far longer than justified or necessary.

"We are returning integrity to the TPS system, which has been abused and exploited by illegal aliens for decades. President Trump and Secretary Noem are returning TPS to its original status: temporary."

Last month, Secretary Noem similarly rescinded the previous administration's Venezuela TPS extension.

Topics

BORDER SECURITY (/TOPICS/BORDER-SECURITY) SECRETARY OF HOMELAND SECURITY (/TOPICS/SECRETARY-HOMELAND-SECURITY)

IMMIGRATION AND CUSTOMS ENFORCEMENT (/TOPICS/IMMIGRATION-AND-CUSTOMS-ENFORCEMENT)

Keywords

BORDER SECURITY (/KEYWORDS/BORDER-SECURITY) IMMIGRATION (/KEYWORDS/IMMIGRATION) SECRETARY KRISTI NOEM (/KEYWORDS/SECRETARY-KRISTI-NOEM)

Exhibit 16



Report to Congressional Requesters

April 2020

TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS

Steps Taken to Inform and Communicate
Secretary of
Homeland Security's
Decisions

GAO Highlights

Highlights of GAO-20-134, a report to congressional requesters

Why GAO Did This Study

The INA includes provisions for eligible foreign nationals residing in the United States to obtain temporary humanitarian protection from removal, as well as work authorization, when their country of origin is designated for TPS. Since 1990, nationals of 22 countries have received TPS. The Secretary of Homeland Security may designate a country for TPS after consulting with other agencies and determining that the country meets statutory criteria related to armed conflict, environmental disaster, or extraordinary or temporary conditions that prevent its nationals from returning in safety. The Secretary may designate a country for TPS for periods of 6 to 18 months and can extend a TPS designation if deemed appropriate.

GAO was asked to review the TPS decision process. This report, among other things, (1) describes the approach DHS takes to inform the Secretary of Homeland Security's TPS reviews and (2) examines DHS's communication to the public regarding TPS decisions and related information, including employment authorization. GAO reviewed documentation and data related to TPS decisions, including a nongeneralizable sample of 26 decisions for eight countries in fiscal years 2014 through 2018. GAO selected the countries to reflect various types of TPS decisions, among other factors. GAO also interviewed agency officials.

What GAO Recommends

GAO recommends USCIS consistently identify in published guidance the mechanisms used to communicate automatic extensions of TPS employment authorization documents. DHS concurred with GAO's recommendation.

View GAO-20-134. For more information, contact Chelsa Gurkin at (202) 512-2964 or GurkinC@gao.gov, or Rebecca Gambler at (202) 512-6912 or GamblerR@gao.gov.

April 2020

TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS

Steps Taken to Inform and Communicate Secretary of Homeland Security's Decisions

What GAO Found

The Department of Homeland Security's (DHS) reviews of countries for Temporary Protected Status (TPS) include three main steps, according to DHS and other agencies' documents and officials. First, the Secretary of Homeland Security may initiate a review of a country for TPS designation in response to various triggering factors, such as a request from a foreign government, on the basis of one or more statutory conditions. The Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) requires subsequent reviews after an initial designation. Second, U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS)—which manages and coordinates the TPS review process for DHS—and the Department of State (State) compile country conditions reports and recommendations to inform the Secretary's decision. Although the INA does not prescribe the other agencies that must be consulted for a TPS review, State generally has a role in providing input for the Secretary of Homeland Security's consideration. GAO found DHS collected country conditions reports and recommendations from USCIS and State for all eight of the countries GAO selected for its review. Other DHS components and non-DHS entities may also provide information. Third, under the INA, the Secretary of Homeland Security exercises discretion in deciding whether to initially designate a country for TPS. For an existing designation, the Secretary determines whether country conditions warrant an extension or termination of TPS. DHS provides official notice of decisions in the Federal Register.

Three Primary Steps in the Secretary of Homeland Security's Temporary Protected Status (TPS) Reviews



Source: GAO analysis of documentary and testimonial information from the Department of Homeland Security and the Department of State. | GAO-20-134

DHS has communicated TPS decisions to the public through required Federal Register notices as well as other mechanisms. However, DHS has not provided consistent guidance regarding mechanisms it uses to communicate automatic extensions of TPS employment authorization documents. USCIS officials stated that the agency has typically communicated these extensions of documents for TPS beneficiaries through Federal Register notices. However, for five recent automatic extensions, USCIS instead mailed individual notifications to thousands of beneficiaries. USCIS guidance on its website identifies the individual notifications as a mechanism for communicating automatic extensions, but an employers' handbook and related guidance do not. As a result, some employers reportedly terminated TPS beneficiaries' employment because the employers did not understand or accept the notifications as proof of employment authorization. Consistent guidance about the mechanisms USCIS uses could help reduce the risk that TPS beneficiaries will lose their jobs because of confusion about their authorization to work in the United States.

Contents

Letter		1
	Background	4
	Foreign Nationals from 22 Countries Have Received TPS,	
	Totaling About 430,000 Beneficiaries in Fiscal Years 2000-2018	9
	DHS's Approach to Inform the Secretary's TPS Reviews Includes Three Primary Steps	15
	DHS Has Communicated TPS Decisions through Required	
	Federal Register Notices but Provided Inconsistent Guidance	
	on Employment Authorizations	29
	Conclusions Recommendation for Executive Action	39 40
	Agency Comments	40
Appendix I	Objectives, Scope, and Methodology	43
Appendix II	Numbers and Characteristics of Temporary Protected Status	
	Beneficiaries, Fiscal Years 2000-2018	49
Appendix III	Comments from Department of Homeland Security	54
••		
Appendix IV	Comments from U.S. Agency for International Development	57
, pp or and r		
Appondix V	CAO Contacts and Staff Asknowledgments	58
Appendix V	GAO Contacts and Staff Acknowledgments	30
Tables		
Tables	Table 4: Kee Department of Henry level Openity (DHO) and	
	Table 1: Key Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and Department of State (State) Components Involved in	
	Temporary Protected Status (TPS) Decision Process	8
	Table 2: Department of Homeland Security's Public	
	Communication of Temporary Protected Status (TPS) Extension for Honduras in 2016	24
	Table 3: Judgmental Sample of Temporary Protected Status	31
	(TPS) Decisions	46

	Table 4: Temporary Protected Status (TPS) Beneficiaries, by Country of Citizenship, Fiscal Years 2000-2018	50
Figures		
	Figure 1: Example of Employment Authorization Document Issued by U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services	8
	Figure 2: Effective Dates, Designation Bases, and Types of Temporary Protected Status (TPS) Decisions, Fiscal	
	Years 1990-2019 Figure 3: Temporary Protected Status Beneficiaries, by Country of	11
	Citizenship, Fiscal Year 2018 Figure 4: Three Primary Steps in Secretary of Homeland	15
	Security's Review for Initial or Existing Designation of Temporary Protected Status (TPS)	16
	Figure 5: Initiation of Secretary of Homeland Security's Review for	10
	Initial or Existing Designation of Temporary Protected Status (TPS)	17
	Figure 6: Information Collected for the Secretary of Homeland Security's Review for Initial or Existing Designation of	
	Temporary Protected Status (TPS) Figure 7: Secretary of Homeland Security's Decision on	20
	Temporary Protected Status (TPS)	28
	Figure 8: Numbers of Federal Register Notices of Extensions, Terminations, or Redesignations of Temporary Protected Status (TPS) Designations Published before and after End Dates of Previous Designation Periods, Fiscal Years	
	1990-2019 Figure 9: Age and Gender of Temporary Protected Status (TPS)	33
	Beneficiaries, Fiscal Year 2018	51

Figure 10: Temporary Protected Status (TPS) Beneficiaries, by State of Residency, Fiscal Year 2018

52

Abbreviations

DHS	Department of Homeland Security
INA	Immigration and Nationality Act
OMB	Office of Management and Budget
PRM	Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration
RAIO	Refugee, Asylum and International Operations Directorate
State	Department of State
TPS	Temporary Protected Status
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services

This is a work of the U.S. government and is not subject to copyright protection in the United States. The published product may be reproduced and distributed in its entirety without further permission from GAO. However, because this work may contain copyrighted images or other material, permission from the copyright holder may be necessary if you wish to reproduce this material separately.

USCIS



April 3, 2020

Congressional Requesters

Temporary Protected Status (TPS) is a form of humanitarian protection that provides a temporary benefit to eligible foreign nationals from designated countries who are residing in the United States. TPS protects beneficiaries from removal and permits work authorization. 1 Countries may be designated for TPS on the basis of statutory criteria related to armed conflict, such as civil war; an environmental disaster, such as an earthquake or hurricane; or extraordinary and temporary conditions in the country that prevent nationals from returning in safety.² Under the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA),3 the Secretary of Homeland

¹Pub. L. No. 82-414, title II, ch. 5, § 244, 66 Stat. 163 (1952), as added by the Immigration Act of 1990, Pub. L. No. 101-649, title III, § 302(a), 104 Stat. 4978, 5030-5036 (classified, as amended by the Immigration Act of 1990 and subsequent acts, at 8 U.S.C. § 1254a).

²Under 8 U.S.C. § 1254a, the Secretary of Homeland Security may designate a country (or a part of a country) for TPS, after consultation with appropriate agencies of the government, when the Secretary finds that conditions in a country meet certain statutory criteria related to ongoing armed conflict, an environmental disaster, or extraordinary and temporary conditions that prevent nationals from returning in safety. Specifically, regarding armed conflict, the Secretary may designate a country for TPS if the Secretary finds that there is an ongoing armed conflict within the foreign country and that, because of the conflict, requiring the return of foreign nationals to that country would pose a serious threat to their personal safety. Regarding environmental disaster, the Secretary may designate a country for TPS if the Secretary finds that there has been an earthquake, flood, drought, epidemic, or other environmental disaster in the foreign country resulting in a substantial. but temporary, disruption in living conditions; the foreign country is temporarily unable to adequately handle the return of foreign nationals to the country; and the foreign country has officially requested TPS designation. Regarding extraordinary and temporary conditions, the Secretary may designate a country for TPS if the Secretary finds that there are extraordinary and temporary conditions in the foreign country that prevent foreign nationals from returning to the country safely, unless the Secretary finds that permitting foreign nationals to remain temporarily in the United States is contrary to the national interests of the United States.

³Unless specified otherwise, all references to the INA in this report refer to section 244 of the act.

Security,⁴ after consultation with other agencies, may grant TPS to eligible foreign nationals in the United States from foreign countries that the Secretary has designated for TPS.⁵ Although the INA does not prescribe the other agencies that must be consulted, the Department of State (State) generally has a role in providing input for the Secretary of Homeland Security's TPS reviews.⁶

Since TPS was established in 1990, 22 countries have received TPS designations.⁷ In fiscal year 2018, more than 400,000 TPS beneficiaries were living in the United States, according to data from DHS's U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS). These beneficiaries were from 10 countries—El Salvador, Haiti, Honduras, Nepal, Nicaragua, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen—with the majority from El Salvador, Honduras, and Haiti.⁸ Since the beginning of fiscal year 2018, the Secretary of Homeland Security has announced decisions to terminate TPS for six countries—El Salvador, Haiti, Honduras, Nepal, Nicaragua, and Sudan; these decisions are currently the subject of litigation.

You asked us to review the decision-making process for TPS designations. This report (1) describes TPS determinations and numbers

⁴The authority to designate countries for TPS was transferred from the Attorney General to the Secretary of Homeland Security in 2003, after the Department of Justice's Immigration and Naturalization Service was abolished and its immigration services and enforcement functions were transferred to the Department of Homeland Security pursuant to the Homeland Security Act of 2002. Pub. L. No. 107-296, title I & IV, §§ 101, 102, 456, 471, 478, 116 Stat. 2135, 2142, 2143-44, 2200-01, 2205, 2211-12 (2002) (classified, as amended, at 6 U.S.C. §§ 111, 112, 275, 291, 298). See also 8 U.S.C. § 1103(a) (powers and duties of the Secretary of Homeland Security).

⁵According to 8 U.S.C. § 1254a(a)(1), the Secretary of Homeland Security may grant TPS to nationals of a foreign state designated for TPS by the Secretary or to stateless individuals whose last habitual residence was in a foreign state designated for TPS.

⁶The Secretary of Homeland Security is required to consult with appropriate agencies of the government before making a designation according to 8 U.S.C. § 1254a(b)(1), and prior to periodic reviews of existing designations, according to 8 U.S.C. § 1254a(b)(3). The statute does not prescribe the other agencies that must be consulted.

⁷Deferred Enforcement Departure is another example of discretionary humanitarian protection from removal that allows eligible foreign nationals from designated countries to remain in the United States on a temporary basis. Deferred Enforcement Departure is not within the scope of this review.

⁸TPS designations for the remaining 12 countries had been terminated as of the beginning of fiscal year 2018.

of beneficiaries since TPS was established; (2) describes the approach that DHS, in consultation with State and other relevant agencies, uses to inform the Secretary of Homeland Security's TPS reviews; and (3) examines DHS's public communication regarding TPS decisions and related information, including work authorization.

To describe TPS determinations and numbers of beneficiaries since TPS was established, we reviewed information and data in Federal Register notices for TPS designations for fiscal years 1990 through 2019 and analyzed USCIS data on numbers of TPS beneficiaries for fiscal years 1990 through 2018.9 To assess the reliability of the USCIS data, we reviewed related documentation and interviewed USCIS officials to identify any missing or erroneous data and resolve any discrepancies. We determined that the data for fiscal years 2000 through 2018 were sufficiently reliable to provide general information about the size and characteristics of TPS beneficiaries.

To describe the approach that DHS uses to inform TPS reviews, we reviewed provisions in the INA related to TPS as well as DHS and State documentation related to the processes they have used since fiscal year 2014 to collect information for these reviews. This documentation included information that DHS and State provided for a judgmental, nongeneralizable sample of eight countries (El Salvador, Haiti, Honduras, Nepal, Nicaragua, Syria, and Yemen), representing 26 TPS decisions in fiscal years 2014 through 2018.10 We selected this sample to represent a range of decision types and designation reasons, among other factors. While this sample cannot be generalized to the countries or decisions we did not review, it provided information about the approach DHS uses for TPS reviews. Additionally, we reviewed examples of information that other agencies—for example, the Department of Defense, the Department of Health and Human Services Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, and the U.S. Agency for International Development—and entities such as members of Congress or nongovernmental organizations

⁹Fiscal year 1990 is the year when TPS was established under the INA, and fiscal year 2018 is the most recent year for which data on TPS beneficiaries were available.

¹⁰We selected a judgmental, nongeneralizable sample of eight countries with initial or existing TPS designations in fiscal years 2014 through 2018, representing 26 of a total of 42 TPS decisions for eight of 13 countries in that period, to incorporate a range of decision types and reasons in recent years, among other factors. Because of ongoing litigation related to TPS, certain information had been redacted from some of the documentation that we reviewed. See appendix I for additional details of our objectives, scope, and methodology.

provided to DHS to inform TPS reviews. We also interviewed officials from DHS, State, the Department of Defense, the Department of Health and Human Services Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, and the U.S. Agency for International Development.

To examine DHS's public communication regarding TPS decisions and related information, we reviewed information that DHS published in Federal Register notices from November 29, 1990, through October 1, 2019. We also examined DHS guidance published on its website and DHS procedures as of fiscal year 2019 for communicating TPS work authorization. We compared DHS's guidance and procedures with relevant federal internal control standards. Additionally, we reviewed information from the Department of Justice Civil Rights Division's website related to automatic extensions of employment authorization documents for TPS beneficiaries. We also interviewed DHS officials.

We conducted this performance audit from September 2018 to March 2020 in accordance with generally accepted government auditing standards. Those standards require that we plan and perform the audit to obtain sufficient, appropriate evidence to provide a reasonable basis for our findings and conclusions based on our audit objectives. We believe that our evidence obtained provides a reasonable basis for our findings and conclusions based on our audit objectives.

Background

Immigration and Nationality Act Provisions for Temporary Protected Status

The INA provides for the Secretary of Homeland Security, after consultation with other agencies, to designate a foreign country for TPS if the conditions in that country fall into one or more of three statutory categories. These categories are generally described as consisting of (1) ongoing armed conflict, (2) environmental disaster, and (3) extraordinary

¹¹GAO, Standards for Internal Control in the Federal Government, GAO-14-704G (Washington, D.C.: September 2014).

¹²Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, "Telephone Interventions," accessed June 27, 2019, https://www.justice.gov/crt/telephone-interventions-2.

and temporary conditions. 13 The Secretary may designate a country for a period of at least 6 months but no more than 18 months.

At least 60 days before the end of the designation period, the Secretary is required, after consulting with other appropriate agencies, to undertake a review of the conditions in the foreign country for which a designation is in effect and to determine whether the conditions for such designation continue to be met. The Secretary must subsequently take one of the following actions:

- Extend the country's TPS designation for a period of 6, 12, or 18 months, if the Secretary determines that country conditions warrant an extension of TPS.14 This provides TPS beneficiaries with an extended period of protection from removal.
- Terminate the country's TPS designation, if the Secretary determines that the country no longer meets the statutory criteria. This results in an expiration of the period of protection for foreign nationals who were granted TPS under a country's designation. 15

In addition, the Secretary may exercise his or her discretion, on the basis of this review, to redesignate the country for TPS. 16 With a redesignation, the Secretary allows eligible nationals from the designated foreign country who have arrived in the United States since the initial designation, or another date established by the Secretary, to apply for TPS.

¹³See 8 U.S.C. § 1254a(b), which provides that the Secretary of Homeland Security may designate a country for TPS if nationals are unable to return safely to the country because of armed conflict or extraordinary and temporary conditions or if an environmental disaster in the country temporarily prevents a country from adequately handling the return of its nationals. In addition, 8 U.S.C. § 1254a(b)(1)(B)(3) requires that a designation based on environmental disaster must be officially requested by a foreign state. According to USCIS officials, such a request is generally submitted in writing and may be provided to DHS through State. USCIS officials stated that this request is required only for an initial designation based on environmental disaster and that official requests from the foreign government are not required for any subsequent TPS extensions.

¹⁴See 8 U.S.C. § 1254a(b)(3)(C). Under this section of the INA, a designation period is automatically extended for 6 months if the Secretary does not make a determination to terminate a country's TPS designation before the end date of the current designation.

¹⁵See 8 U.S.C. § 1254a(b)(3)(B).

¹⁶See 8 U.S.C. § 1254a(b). According to USCIS officials, from 1997 through 2017, DHS used the term "redesignate" for instances in which the Secretary of Homeland Security newly designated a country for TPS after an initial designation or extension period. Beginning in 2018, DHS began using the term "newly designate" for these decisions.

TPS provides temporary humanitarian protection to eligible foreign nationals in the United States who, for various reasons, may not have otherwise lawful status and therefore, in the absence of TPS, would be subject to enforcement and removal under the INA. Foreign nationals may be present in the United States without valid status and potentially removable for various reasons, such as having entered without inspection and admission at a port of entry or having remained in the country beyond the expiration of previous temporary status (e.g., tourist, foreign student). Eligible foreign nationals may also seek TPS when they currently have another lawful status, according to USCIS officials. USCIS officials noted that this may occur, for example, when a foreign national has a temporary nonimmigrant status nearing its end date when TPS is designated for his or her country and applies for TPS before the existing status expires.

Under the INA, applicants for TPS must apply during the registration period established by the Secretary of Homeland Security for a particular country designation. To be eligible for TPS, an applicant from a designated country must have been physically present in the United States continuously since the most recent designation's effective date and must have resided in the United States continuously since the date established by the Secretary of Homeland Security. The INA also specifies that an individual is ineligible for TPS if he or she has been convicted of any felony or of two or more misdemeanors committed in the United States; if any of the statutory bars to asylum apply, such as involvement in persecution of others; or if he or she is reasonably regarded as a danger to the security of the United States, among other bases. 18

¹⁷See 8 U.S.C. § 1254a(c). In accordance with the statute, applicants must have been continuously physically present since the effective date of the most recent TPS designation of their country of origin. The Secretary of Homeland Security sets the continuous physical presence date as either the publication date of the Federal Register notice or such later date as the Secretary determines. In addition, applicants must have been living, or continuously residing, in the United States as of the date prescribed by the Secretary of Homeland Security. For example, Yemen's initial TPS designation had an effective date and continuous physical presence date of September 3, 2015; the Secretary of Homeland Security prescribed the same date for continuous residence. See 80 Fed. Reg. 53319 (Sept. 3, 2015). For Yemen's 2017 redesignation, with an effective date and continuous physical presence date of March 4, 2017, the Secretary of Homeland Security prescribed January 4, 2017, as the continuous residence date. See 82 Fed. Reg. 859 (Jan. 4, 2017).

¹⁸See 8 U.S.C. §1254a(c)(2).

In addition to protecting beneficiaries from removal, TPS authorizes them to work in the United States for the designation period. ¹⁹ To receive evidence of work authorization, TPS beneficiaries generally apply to USCIS for an employment authorization document, Form I-766. USCIS provides this document as a plastic card that shows proof of the individual's authorization to work in the United States and includes a photograph of the individual. ²⁰ Although USCIS does not require beneficiaries to apply for an employment authorization document, according to USCIS officials, beneficiaries typically apply to obtain these cards as evidence of their authorization to work in the United States. Figure 1 shows an example of an employment authorization document issued by USCIS.

¹⁹TPS allows beneficiaries to work in the United States and protects them from removal for the designation period, provided that they continue to meet TPS eligibility criteria and are not otherwise subject to removal proceedings or withdrawal of their status. See INA § 244(c)(3)(A-B); 8 C.F.R. § 244.14 regarding withdrawal of TPS.

²⁰A TPS beneficiary continues to be authorized to work for as long as he or she has TPS. See INA § 244(a)(1)(B). TPS beneficiaries, like all employees, must provide a document or combination of documents to their employers evidencing their identity and employment authorization from a list of acceptable documents. An employment authorization document (Form I-766) is one of the acceptable documents that may be used to establish both identity and authorization to work in the United States. However, TPS beneficiaries may present any document from the list of acceptable documents that are available to demonstrate identity and eligibility to work in the United States. To apply for an employment authorization document, TPS beneficiaries must submit a completed Form I–765, "Application for Employment Authorization" (OMB Control No. 1615–0040), to USCIS, which has jurisdiction over the form, within the current TPS designation period. According to USCIS officials, applicants do not have to submit Form I-765 concurrently with an application to reregister for TPS.

Figure 1: Example of Employment Authorization Document Issued by U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services





Source: U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. | GAO-20-134

Key DHS and State Components That May Be Involved in TPS Reviews

Several key DHS and State components may be involved in the TPS decision process, as table 1 shows. Additionally, other DHS offices and components, as well as agencies such as the Department of Defense or U.S. Agency for International Development, may provide information about country conditions to help inform the Secretary of Homeland Security's decisions.

Table 1: Key Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and Department of State (State) Components Involved in Temporary **Protected Status (TPS) Decision Process**

Agency	Component or official	Role
DHS	Secretary of Homeland Security	Responsible for determining whether to initially designate, extend, terminate, or redesignate TPS for a country.
	U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services	Administers the United States' immigration services function by adjudicating requests for immigration benefits, including TPS.
Statea	Secretary of State	Provides input for the Secretary of Homeland Security's consideration for TPS decisions.
	Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration	Responsible for humanitarian policy and diplomacy, and also provides humanitarian assistance. Has a role in supporting efforts to protect and assist refugees and vulnerable migrants around the world.
	Regional bureaus ^b	Serve as the liaison between the overseas posts and State's headquarters bureaus and offices.
	Overseas posts ^c	Typically provide information about country conditions for a TPS review.

Source: GAO analysis of DHS and State documentary and testimonial information. | GAO-20-134

^aThe Secretary of Homeland Security is required to consult with appropriate agencies of the government before making a TPS designation, according to 8 U.S.C. § 1254a(b)(1), and prior to periodic reviews of existing designations, according to 8 U.S.C. § 1254a(b)(3). Although the INA does not prescribe the other agencies that must be consulted, State generally has a role in providing input for the Secretary of Homeland Security's TPS reviews.

^bState has six regional bureaus that support the department's mission in specific global regions: the Bureau of African Affairs, the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, the Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs, and the Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs.

^cOverseas posts include U.S. embassies and other posts in many countries.

Foreign Nationals from 22 Countries Have Received TPS, Totaling About 430,000 Beneficiaries in Fiscal Years 2000-2018

TPS Has Been Granted to Foreign Nationals from 22 Countries since It Was Established

Since TPS was established in 1990, foreign nationals in the United States from 22 countries²¹ have been granted TPS.²² Our review of Federal Register notices published in fiscal years 1990 through 2019 found varying bases for the 22 countries' TPS designations. We also found that designations for 20 of these countries were subsequently extended or the countries were redesignated one or more times.²³ Somalia, first designated for TPS in September 1991, had the longest overall designation period since TPS was established. As of the end of fiscal

²¹The 22 countries designated for TPS in fiscal years 1990 through 2019 included El Salvador, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Somalia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Rwanda, Montserrat, Burundi, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Kosovo, Honduras, Nicaragua, Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Haiti, South Sudan, Syria, Guinea, Nepal, and Yemen. When Kosovo was designated for TPS in 1998, it was a province of Serbia. In February 2008, the Kosovo Parliament declared Kosovo independent and the United States recognized Kosovo as an independent state.

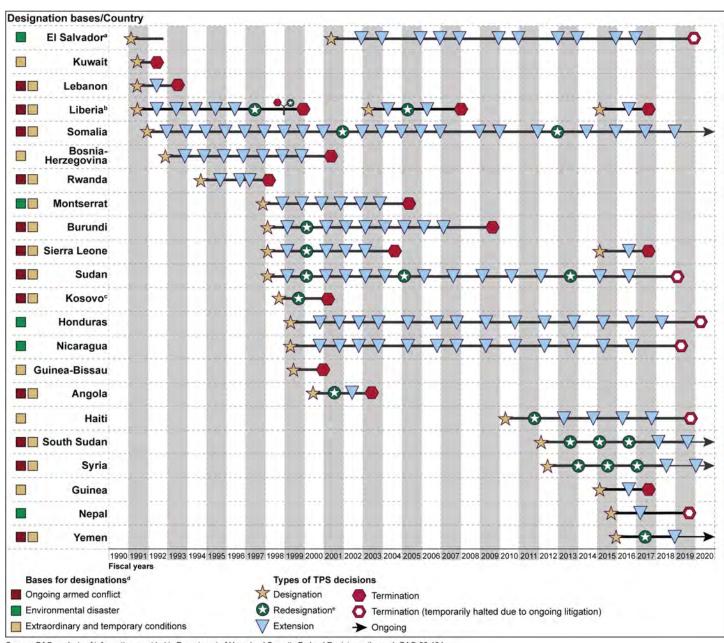
²²The authority to designate countries for TPS was transferred from the Attorney General to the Secretary of Homeland Security in 2003, after the Department of Justice's Immigration and Naturalization Service was abolished and its immigration services and enforcement functions were transferred to DHS pursuant to the Homeland Security Act of 2002. Pub. L. No. 107-296, title I & IV, §§ 101, 102, 456, 471, 478, 116 Stat. 2135, 2142, 2143-44, 2200-01, 2205, 2211-12 (2002) (classified, as amended, at 6 U.S.C. §§ 111, 112, 275, 291, 298). See also 8 U.S.C. § 1103(a) (powers and duties of the Secretary of Homeland Security).

²³A redesignation of TPS may allow eligible nationals from the designated foreign country who have arrived in the United States since the date of the initial designation to apply for TPS, whereas an extension allows existing beneficiaries to retain TPS as long as they continue to meet eligibility requirements.

year 2019, Somalia's designation had been extended 21 times and the country had been redesignated twice;²⁴ its most recent extension was set to expire in March 2020. Designations for only two countries were terminated without any extensions or redesignations—Kuwait, designated in 1991, and Guinea-Bissau, designated in 1999. Figure 2 shows all effective dates of TPS designations and subsequent decisions, including extensions, terminations, and redesignations, as well as the bases for the designations for each of the 22 countries in fiscal years 1990 through 2019.

²⁴Somalia's redesignations were coupled with simultaneous extensions of TPS.

Figure 2: Effective Dates, Designation Bases, and Types of Temporary Protected Status (TPS) Decisions, Fiscal Years 1990-2019



Source: GAO analysis of information provided in Department of Homeland Security Federal Register notices. | GAO-20-134

^aEl Salvador was first designated for TPS in the Immigration Act of 1990. When the original 18-month designation expired in 1992, it was not extended and the country was not redesignated.

^bOne redesignation of Liberia followed a prior termination of the previous designation (1998), and another redesignation of the country was coupled with a simultaneous termination of the previous

designation (2004). Section 7611 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2020 allows Liberian nationals who meet all applicable eligibility criteria—including continuous presence in the United States from November 20, 2014, until the date an application is timely filed—and their qualifying family members to become lawful permanent residents (i.e., Green Card holders). See Pub. L. No. 116-92, div. F, title LXXVI, subtitle B, § 7611, 133 Stat. 1198 (2019).

When Kosovo was designated for TPS in 1998, it was a province of Serbia. In February 2008, the Kosovo Parliament declared Kosovo independent and the United States recognized Kosovo as an independent state.

^dThe listed designation bases represent statutorily defined categories of conditions on which a TPS designation—either an initial designation or any subsequent redesignation—may be based. When more than one designation basis is shown for a country, the bases shown do not distinguish between the category for the initial designation and categories that were added or removed at the time of any redesignations or subsequent designations.

eAccording to USCIS officials, from 1997 through 2017, "redesignation" was used to describe the Secretary of Homeland Security's designation of a country for TPS after an initial designation or extension period. Officials stated that in 2018, the Department of Homeland Security began using the term "newly designate" for these decisions. From fiscal year 1990, when TPS was established, through fiscal year 2019, all TPS redesignations except two for Liberia were coupled with a simultaneous extension of TPS. Extensions or terminations that occurred with a redesignation are not marked as such in the graphic.

As figure 2 shows, 26 TPS designations occurred in fiscal years 1990 through 2019, and 22 designations were extended at least once. As of September 30, 2019, the designations for all but four countries had been terminated and the termination of six countries' designations since fiscal year 2018 had been temporarily halted because of ongoing litigation. Redesignations occurred 20 times. ²⁵

- **Designations.** Of the 26 TPS designations, three were for one country, Liberia, and four were for two countries, El Salvador and Sierra Leone, that were each designated twice.
- **Extensions.** The majority of TPS designations (17 of 26 designations) were extended up to eight times. Designations for five countries—EI Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Somalia, and Sudan—were extended more than 10 times each. Three of the 22 countries' designations were not extended before termination.
- **Terminations**. The TPS designations for all countries except Somalia, South Sudan, Syria, and Yemen had been terminated as of September 30, 2019. The termination of six countries' designations

²⁵Since fiscal year 1990, when TPS was established, through fiscal year 2019, all redesignations except two for Liberia were coupled with a simultaneous extension of TPS. One redesignation for Liberia followed a prior termination of the previous designation, and another redesignation for Liberia was coupled with a simultaneous termination of the previous designation. For the purposes of our review, in counting any extensions or terminations for each country, we did not include an extension or termination that occurred simultaneously with a redesignation.

Case 3:25-cv-01766-EMC

since fiscal year 2018 had been temporarily halted because of ongoing litigation. Several lawsuits had been filed regarding the Secretary of Homeland Security's decisions to terminate TPS for El Salvador, Haiti, Honduras, Nepal, Nicaragua, and Sudan. 26 In October 2018, a U.S. district judge in California issued a preliminary injunction for one of the lawsuits, temporarily blocking DHS from enforcing the Secretary's TPS termination decisions for El Salvador, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Sudan. The U.S. government filed an appeal in response to the preliminary injunction. According to USCIS officials, DHS has regularly published notices of its continued compliance with the court's injunction and has stated that it will continue to publish such notices pending resolution of the case In April 2019, a district court judge in New York issued a second preliminary injunction covering Haiti, which the U.S. government appealed in June 2019. Additionally, under an agreement to stay the proceedings in response to a lawsuit filed in California in February 2019, the government stipulated that it would temporarily halt terminations for Honduras and Nepal until the appeal of the October 2018 injunction had been resolved.

Redesignations. Of the 20 TPS redesignations, six were for countries that were redesignated once, two were for one country that was redesignated twice, and twelve were for four countries that each were redesignated thrice—the largest number of TPS redesignations.27

About 430,000 Eligible Foreign Nationals Received TPS in Fiscal Years 2000-2018

USCIS data show that applications for TPS were approved for a total of 431,848 foreign nationals in fiscal years 2000 through 2018 and that the number of TPS beneficiaries each year²⁸ grew from about 70,000 in fiscal

²⁶We previously reported on issues related to the reintegration of migrants in Central America, including potential returnees affected by recent terminations of TPS designations for El Salvador and Honduras. See GAO, Central America: USAID Assists Migrants Returning to their Home Countries, but Effectiveness of Reintegration Efforts Remains to Be Determined, GAO-19-62 (Washington, D.C.: Nov. 8, 2018).

²⁷All but two of these redesignations were coupled with a simultaneous extension of TPS.

²⁸The data on TPS beneficiaries in a given fiscal year include individuals who had been granted TPS as of September 30 of each fiscal year, including beneficiaries who were granted TPS in prior years and whose status was not withdrawn.

year 2000 to about 420,000 in fiscal year 2018.²⁹ The number of TPS beneficiaries increased most rapidly in fiscal years 2000 through 2005, particularly after the designation of Honduras in 1999 and El Salvador in 2001. According to USCIS officials, because adjudicating all TPS applications can take years, depending on the number of applicants from a country, the number of TPS beneficiaries for a designated country may continue rising after the established registration period for the specific designation. For example, although Honduras was initially designated for TPS in 1999, with an applicant registration period that ended on July 5, 1999, USCIS data show that the number of beneficiaries from Honduras who were granted TPS peaked in 2007 at 85,759 foreign nationals. See appendix II for additional information on the numbers of TPS beneficiaries in fiscal years 2000 through 2018, by country.

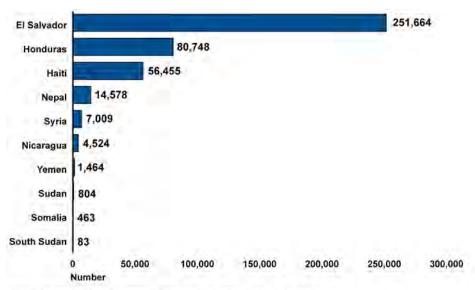
Data on the number of TPS beneficiaries for fiscal year 2018—the most recent available—show that the majority of TPS beneficiaries were from three countries (El Salvador, Honduras, and Haiti), as figure 3 shows.³⁰ About 98 percent of beneficiaries from six countries (Sudan, Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Haiti, and Nepal) in fiscal year 2018—408,773 foreign nationals—held TPS because the termination of their country's TPS designation was temporarily halted because of ongoing litigation. In addition, about 2 percent of beneficiaries from four countries (Somalia, South Sudan, Syria, and Yemen) in fiscal year 2018—9,019 foreign

²⁹According to USCIS officials, USCIS data on TPS beneficiaries during this period may include some individuals who adjusted to another immigration status as well as some who left the United States or died. We determined that USCIS data for fiscal years 2000 through 2018 were sufficiently reliable to provide general information on numbers of TPS beneficiaries. USCIS was not able to provide reliable data on numbers of TPS beneficiaries before fiscal year 2000 because, according to USCIS officials, these data were not consistently entered electronically in USCIS information systems before fiscal year 2000. Some of the individuals may have later had their TPS withdrawn because of individual ineligibility or because they became naturalized U.S. citizens. According to USCIS officials, TPS beneficiaries who become U.S. citizens or whose status has been withdrawn, either because they no longer meet eligibility requirements or because they requested that USCIS withdraw their status, are removed from USCIS data in the fiscal year that their status changes.

³⁰El Salvador was designated for TPS in 1990, in the statute that created TPS, and was designated again in 2001 after two major earthquakes in the country. Haiti was initially designated for TPS in 2010, after a major earthquake; the Secretary of Homeland Security redesignated Haiti in 2011 to allow eligible Haitians who arrived in the United States up to 1 year after the earthquake to apply for TPS. Honduras was initially designated for TPS after Hurricane Mitch struck the country in 1999. Ongoing insecurity due to violence and criminal activity, lack of economic opportunity, weak governance, and recurrent natural disasters have contributed to continual flows of migrants from Central American countries, including El Salvador and Honduras, as well as from Haiti, to the United States in recent years.

nationals—held TPS because their country's designation was extended. See appendix II for additional information about beneficiary characteristics in fiscal year 2018, including age, gender, and location.

Figure 3: Temporary Protected Status Beneficiaries, by Country of Citizenship, Fiscal Year 2018



Source: GAO analysis of U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services data. | GAO-20-134

Note: The data shown reflect eligible foreign nationals who had been granted Temporary Protected Status as of September 30, 2018. According to USCIS officials, these data may include some foreign nationals who had an additional immigration status, as well as some who had left the United States or died, since receiving TPS.

DHS's Approach to Inform the Secretary's **TPS Reviews** Includes Three **Primary Steps**

Our review of documentation for selected TPS decisions in fiscal years 2014 through 2018 and our interviews with DHS, USCIS, and State officials indicated that DHS's approach for initial or subsequent reviews of countries for TPS consists of three primary steps:

The Secretary of Homeland Security initiates a review of a country for TPS. For an initial TPS designation, the Secretary may initiate consideration of a country in response to various triggering factors. Such factors may include, for example, a request from a U.S. government entity or a foreign government for a TPS designation based on the statutory conditions for TPS (i.e., armed conflict, environmental disaster, or extraordinary and temporary conditions). For an existing designation approaching its end date, a statutory deadline requires the Secretary to undertake a review.

- DHS collects information on country conditions and recommendations from USCIS and State and provides this information to the Secretary of Homeland Security to inform his or her decision regarding an initial or existing TPS designation. Other DHS components and non-DHS entities, including other agencies and nongovernmental organizations. may also provide information to the Secretary or USCIS.
- 3. The Secretary of Homeland Security receives the information and recommendations and makes a decision about TPS for the country. The Secretary exercises discretion in determining whether to initially designate a country for TPS. For an existing designation, under the INA, the Secretary is required to determine whether country conditions warrant an extension of TPS or whether the country no longer meets the statutory criteria and TPS must be terminated. Also, the Secretary exercises discretion in determining whether to redesignate a country that was previously designated for TPS.

Figure 4 illustrates these three steps.

Figure 4: Three Primary Steps in Secretary of Homeland Security's Review for Initial or Existing Designation of Temporary Protected Status (TPS)



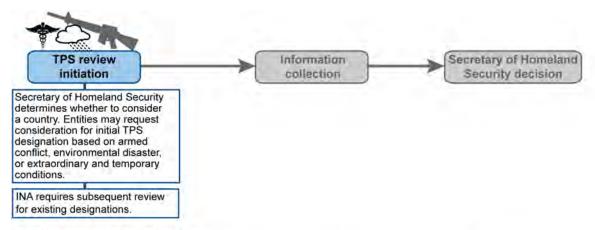
Source: GAO analysis of documentary and testimonial information from the Department of Homeland Security and the Department of State. | GAO-20-134

Note: For an initial TPS designation, the Secretary of Homeland Security may initiate consideration of a country for TPS in response to various triggering factors. For an existing designation, a statutory deadline requires the Secretary to undertake a review. See 8 U.S.C. §1254a (b).

Secretary of Homeland Security May Consider a Country for Initial TPS Designation in Response to Various Factors, and Statute Requires Subsequent Reviews

Various factors may trigger consideration of a country for an initial TPS designation, according to USCIS officials. Officials stated that the Secretary of Homeland Security's consideration of a country for an initial designation is discretionary. However, subsequent reviews of existing designations are required by statute. See figure 5.

Figure 5: Initiation of Secretary of Homeland Security's Review for Initial or Existing Designation of Temporary Protected Status (TPS)



Legend: INA = Immigration and Nationality Act.

Source: GAO analysis of documentary and testimonial information from Department of Homeland Security and Department of State. | GAO-20-134

Note: For an initial TPS designation, the Secretary of Homeland Security may initiate consideration of a country for TPS in response to various triggering factors, such as a request from a U.S. government entity or a foreign government. For an existing TPS designation, the Secretary is required, after consulting with appropriate agencies, to undertake a review of the conditions in the designated country at least 60 days before the designation's end date. 8 U.S.C. § 1254a(b)(3).

USCIS and State officials stated that for initial TPS designations, a request from DHS, State, the White House, members of Congress, or foreign governments may trigger consideration of whether to designate a country on the basis of one or more of the three statutory categories (i.e., armed conflict, environmental disaster, or extraordinary and temporary conditions).³¹ USCIS officials added that, under the INA, the Secretary of Homeland Security has the sole authority to determine whether and when to consider a country for an initial TPS designation. Further, they noted that a request does not automatically result in a formal review of a country for TPS even if the country has experienced country conditions specified in one or more of the statutory categories, such as an armed conflict or environmental disaster.

For subsequent reviews of existing TPS designations, at least 60 days before the end of the designation period, the Secretary is required, after

³¹USCIS officials noted that a request from a foreign government is not required for DHS to consider a country for an initial TPS designation. They added that in some cases, DHS does not receive a request from any entity before the Secretary makes a determination to consider a country for an initial TPS designation.

consulting with other appropriate agencies, to undertake a review of the conditions in the foreign country for which a designation is in effect.³²

Filed 06/03/25

DHS Collects Country Conditions Reports and Recommendations to Inform the Secretary's TPS Decision DHS collects similar information for each review of a country for TPS, according to DHS officials and our review of selected decisions. DHS officials identified four primary sources of information that the department collects to inform the Secretary of Homeland Security's TPS decisions: country conditions reports compiled by USCIS and State and recommendations from USCIS and State leadership. According to DHS and State officials, DHS generally consults with State on TPS decisions, although it is not specifically required to do so under the statute.³³ Our review of 26 TPS decisions for the eight selected countries found that DHS collected the following documents to inform each decision:

- 1. a country conditions report compiled by USCIS,
- 2. a memo with a recommendation from the USCIS Director to the Secretary of Homeland Security,
- 3. a country conditions report compiled by State, and
- 4. a letter with a recommendation from the Secretary of State to the Secretary of Homeland Security.³⁴

USCIS manages and coordinates the TPS information-gathering process for the Secretary of Homeland Security. While State formally provides its input through the Secretary of State's letter and recommendation to the

³²8 U.S.C. § 1254a(b)(3).

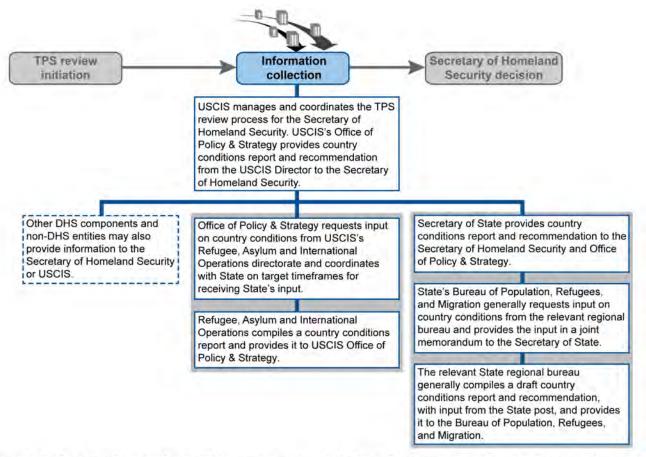
³³The Secretary of Homeland Security is required to consult with appropriate agencies of the government before making a designation according to 8 U.S.C. § 1254a(b)(1), and prior to periodic reviews of existing designations, according to 8 U.S.C. § 1254a(b)(3). The statute does not prescribe the other agencies that must be consulted.

³⁴Although the INA does not prescribe the type of input that must be provided by any agencies that the Secretary of Homeland Security consults with for a TPS review, we found that State generally has a role in providing input, including a country conditions report and recommendation, for the Secretary of Homeland Security's TPS reviews. We reviewed documentation that DHS collected to inform the Secretary's decisions for a judgmental, nongeneralizable sample of eight of the 13 countries for which TPS decisions were rendered in fiscal years 2014 through 2018. Our sample included 26 TPS decisions (specifically, two initial designation decisions, three redesignation decisions, 15 extension decisions, and six termination decisions) from a total of 42 decisions during that period. Because of ongoing litigation, certain information had been redacted from documents for 13 of the 26 TPS decisions in our judgmental sample. See appendix I for additional details of our objectives, scope, and methodology.

Secretary of Homeland Security, USCIS officials said that USCIS generally incorporates the input from State into USCIS's country conditions report and recommendation on TPS.³⁵ DHS officials noted that other internal DHS components, government agencies, and other entities may also provide information about country conditions or other factors to inform the Secretary of Homeland Security's decisions. Figure 6 shows the information collected to support the Secretary of Homeland Security's TPS reviews.

³⁵According to USCIS officials, the Secretary of State's letter and recommendation to the Secretary of Homeland Security, as well as State's country conditions report, are generally attached to USCIS's country conditions report and recommendation to inform the Secretary of Homeland Security's review.

Figure 6: Information Collected for the Secretary of Homeland Security's Review for Initial or Existing Designation of **Temporary Protected Status (TPS)**



Legend: DHS = Department of Homeland Security; INA = Immigration and Nationality Act; State = Department of State; USCIS = U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. Source: GAO analysis of documentary and testimonial information from DHS and State. | GAO-20-134

> Note: The Secretary of Homeland Security is required to consult with appropriate agencies of the government before making a TPS designation, according to 8 U.S.C. § 1254a(b)(1), and prior to periodic reviews of existing designations, according to 8 U.S.C. § 1254a(b)(3). Although the INA does not prescribe the other agencies that must be consulted, State generally has a role in providing input for the Secretary of Homeland Security's TPS reviews, based on our review of documentation for selected TPS decisions in fiscal years 2014 through 2018 and our interviews with DHS, USCIS, and State officials.

> USCIS officials indicated that the time frames for conducting TPS reviews may vary. They noted that a review for an initial designation may have a shorter time frame than a review for an existing designation, depending on the situation. In addition, the officials noted that USCIS generally starts the review process for an existing TPS designation about 6 months to a year before the end date of the country's current designation. They added

that they generally start the review process within this timeframe, given the INA requirement that the Secretary of Homeland Security either undertake a review and make a determination regarding country conditions at least 60 days in advance of the prior designation's end date or automatically extend the designation for 6 months. 36 According to USCIS officials, at the start of a review for an initial or existing designation, USCIS's Office of Policy & Strategy generally reaches out to USCIS's Refugee, Asylum and International Operations Directorate (RAIO) to request input on country conditions. USCIS officials also said that the office coordinates with State's Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration regarding the target time frame for receiving State's input. In general, once USCIS receives the input from RAIO and State, USCIS finalizes its country conditions report and recommendation memo for the Secretary of Homeland Security.

Our review of documentation for the eight countries in our nongeneralizable sample of 26 TPS decisions found variation in the time frames for USCIS's recommendation memos and for State's recommendation letters. For the 24 reviews of existing TPS designations, USCIS provided recommendation memos to the Secretary of Homeland Security about 2 to 7 months before the end date of the prior

³⁶According to 8 U.S.C. § 1254a(b)(1)(C), after the Secretary of Homeland Security makes a decision regarding an initial TPS designation, the designation shall not become effective unless notice of the designation is published in the Federal Register. With regard to decisions to terminate or extend a designation after a required periodic review of an existing designation, the Secretary of Homeland Security is required to provide for the publication of notice of the determination in the Federal Register on a timely basis. Under the law, terminations may not take effect earlier than 60 days after the date of publication of the Federal Register notice announcing the termination decision or, if later, the expiration of the most recent previous extension. See 8 U.S.C. § 1254a(b)(3).

designations.³⁷ Most of State's 26 recommendation letters were dated about 2 days to 6 months before the USCIS recommendation memos.38

RAIO officials noted that they use an internal template as informal guidance for the draft country conditions reports that they compile for USCIS's Office of Policy & Strategy for reviews for initial or existing TPS designations. We reviewed the RAIO template and found, for example, that for reporting on a country being considered for a TPS designation on the basis of an environmental disaster, the template includes sections (e.g., several paragraphs) about the population harmed, damage to infrastructure, disruption in services, and status of disaster response and reconstruction. Officials added that country conditions reports may deviate from the template, because its use is not required; instead, it serves as general, informal guidance. RAIO officials also noted that information in the country conditions reports they compile is generally based on publicly available information or data related to country conditions. According to the officials, sources for such information may include U.S. agencies, foreign governments, international organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and news articles.

According to State officials, after State initiates its internal process for compiling information for the Secretary of Homeland Security's TPS

³⁷Specifically, of the 24 TPS decisions for existing designations in our sample, nine of the USCIS recommendation memos were dated about 2 to 2.5 months in advance of the prior designation end date; six were dated about 3 to 4.5 months in advance of the prior designation end date; and eight were dated about 5 to 7 months in advance of the prior designation end date. One of the 24 USCIS recommendation memos provided to us was not dated, although USCIS provided an earlier draft memo for that TPS decision to us that was dated about 1.5 months in advance of the prior designation end date. Our sample also included two TPS decisions for initial designations (for a total of 26 decisions); because those designations did not have a prior end date, we did not include them in our analysis.

³⁸Specifically, State's recommendation letters for 23 of the 26 TPS decisions were dated in advance of the USCIS recommendation memos for those reviews. Six State letters were dated 2 days to 2 weeks in advance of the USCIS recommendation memo, six were dated 1 to 2 months in advance, seven were dated 2.5 to 4 months in advance, and four were dated 4.5 to 6 months in advance. Three of the 26 State recommendation letters were dated about 1 to 2 weeks after the USCIS recommendation memo. For those three instances, USCIS officials indicated that USCIS officials had communicated with State officials at the working level about the ongoing TPS reviews; however, USCIS did not receive State's final letters in time to incorporate the input into USCIS's memos for the Secretary of Homeland Security. They added that, because State formally provides its input directly to the Secretary of Homeland Security, the Secretary has always received State's input in advance of a TPS decision. State officials indicated that although State strives to adhere to USCIS timelines, complex TPS cases with significant foreign policy considerations may require additional time for internal review.

review, the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration generally requests input internally from the relevant regional bureau and post before compiling information for the Secretary of State's consideration. See the text box for more details of State's internal process for developing country conditions reports and recommendation letters to inform the Secretary of Homeland Security's TPS reviews.

State Department's Internal Process for Compiling Information for the Secretary of Homeland Security's Temporary **Protected Status Reviews**

The Department of State's (State) internal process for developing input for the Secretary of Homeland Security's Temporary Protected Status (TPS) reviews generally includes compiling information on country conditions as well as proposed recommendations from the relevant regional bureau and overseas post, according to documentation for selected TPS decisions in fiscal years 2014 through 2018 and our interviews with DHS, USCIS, and State officials. State's Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration (PRM) facilitates and coordinates State's internal process for developing this input, according to informal guidance, which State officials said the bureau has used at the working level since 2012, as well as our interviews with State officials.

After DHS initiates a TPS review, PRM generally directs the relevant regional bureau to reach out to overseas posts for information about country conditions, according to State officials. State officials noted that in some cases, the regional bureau's country desk officer takes the lead in drafting the country conditions report, depending on the country context. Officials stated that the regional bureau generally uses a questionnaire on country conditions to request information from the post for a TPS review and that the post generally also provides a recommendation, in addition to the questionnaire responses, via cable or email to the regional bureau. For example, for a country that had an existing TPS designation based on ongoing armed conflict in the country, a country conditions cable provided, among other things, information about the status of the armed conflict, an assessment of whether the return of foreign nationals would pose a serious threat to their personal safety and whether the country was unable to handle the return of nationals, and information about the impact of the conflict on economic and humanitarian conditions. State and U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) officials noted that other agencies represented at the overseas posts, such as USAID, may provide information for a post's input on country conditions, including information gathered "on the ground" as well as from publicly available sources.

Once the regional bureau receives any input from post, the bureau desk officer prepares a draft country conditions report and recommendation, and the regional bureau works with PRM to compile a joint action memo. PRM generally provides the joint action memo, which includes a country conditions report, to the Secretary of State, according to State officials. The memo may include a joint recommendation or varying recommendations (e.g., from PRM and the regional bureau) for the Secretary's consideration. After the Secretary determines what the department will recommend, State provides a final country conditions report and recommendation letter to the Secretary of Homeland Security as well as to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services' Office of Policy & Strategy.

Source: GAO summary of documentary and testimonial information provided by State and USAID. | GAO-20-134

We found that the USCIS and State country conditions reports and recommendation memos or letters that DHS and State provided for our nongeneralizable sample of 26 TPS decisions included information such as background on the cause (or reason for consideration) of the initial

TPS designation and a summary of the country's recovery from, or the status of, the situation to date. In addition, documentation provided to us for some of the TPS decisions included other information, such as certain economic indicators or broader country context. Specifically:

- Cause and recovery or status. USCIS and State documentation for each of the 26 TPS decisions in our review generally included (1) information related to the cause (or reason for consideration) of the initial TPS designation and (2) a summary of the country's recovery from, or the status of, the situation to date. For example, documentation for a country designated on the basis of armed conflict described the status of the conflict and ceasefire agreements; provided information about violence against civilians and recruitment of child soldiers; provided an update on civilian casualties since the prior review; and described humanitarian challenges stemming from the conflict, such as the risk of famine. For a country designated on the basis of environmental disaster, documentation described the status of investments in recovery and efforts to rebuild after the disaster, including the number of houses and schools that had been rebuilt or repaired. This documentation also included assessments of disruption in living conditions and the extent to which economic activity and basic services had been restored.
- Economic indicators. USCIS documentation for 16 TPS decisions and State documentation for 12 TPS decisions in our review included information about economic indicators. Examples of such information included an estimate of damages from an environmental disaster as a percentage of a country's gross domestic product, a summary of growth in a country's gross domestic product in recent years, and data on the increase in food prices as a result of armed conflict in a country.39
- Broader country context. USCIS documentation for 23 TPS decisions in our review and State documentation for 20 TPS decisions provided information about broader country context. For example, documentation for a country designated on the basis of armed conflict included broader context regarding topics such as recent natural disasters and the country's geography. As another example, documentation for a country designated on the basis of environmental

³⁹We determined that USCIS and State documentation (e.g., country conditions reports and recommendation memos or letters) for a TPS decision included information about economic indicators if the documentation provided information about one or more indicators, such as gross domestic product, consumer prices, or unemployment statistics.

disaster provided information about subsequent natural disasters as well as violence, criminal activity, and corruption in the country.

In addition to USCIS and State, other DHS offices and components and non-DHS entities may provide information to inform the Secretary's decision. DHS officials noted that such information varies, may be solicited or unsolicited, and may be provided directly to the Secretary of Homeland Security or to USCIS. We reviewed examples of such information for several of the TPS decisions in our nongeneralizable sample.⁴⁰ This information included items such as

- immigration data or intelligence analyses from other DHS offices and components—for example, the Office of Immigration Statistics, U.S. Customs and Border Protection, and U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement;
- updates from the Department of Defense on the security situation in a country;
- technical input from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention regarding the status of an epidemic; and
- input from other entities, including letters from members of Congress, foreign government officials, and nongovernmental organizations.⁴¹

In addition, DHS officials stated that the Secretary of Homeland Security may hold briefings or meetings on TPS reviews both internally and with

⁴⁰DHS and State provided examples of other information compiled for each of the eight countries in our nongeneralizable sample, representing 15 of 26 TPS decisions.

⁴¹For example, a senior official from DHS's Office of Immigration Statistics provided us with several examples of immigration data that the office provided to DHS and USCIS officials for recent TPS reviews. The official noted that the office routinely provides immigration data—in particular, estimates of unauthorized individuals residing in the United States who would be eligible for an initial designation or redesignation—to both DHS and USCIS for TPS reviews. In addition, DHS's Office of Intelligence and Analysis developed an intelligence assessment that provided an overview of implications, including homeland security considerations and operational considerations for law enforcement, if TPS were to expire for certain countries. According to officials from the Office of Intelligence and Analysis, the office developed the assessment on its own initiative, and it was provided to the Secretary of Homeland Security as part of a daily briefing book as well as posted to an internal dissemination portal for cleared users. As another example, DHS's Office of the Military Advisor requested and received information from the Commander of a Department of Defense combatant command about the security situation, humanitarian challenges, and implications of terminating TPS for a country. Department of Defense officials stated that the department has not provided formal input for TPS reviews.

external entities, such as White House officials, foreign government officials, and nongovernmental organizations or advocacy groups.⁴²

According to DHS officials, after USCIS and State compile their country conditions reports and recommendations for the Secretary of Homeland Security's consideration, other DHS components—including the Office of Strategy, Policy, and Plans; the Office of the General Counsel; and the Management Directorate—review the documents as part of the standard departmental clearance process before providing them to the Secretary. Officials from these DHS components noted that the purpose of their review is generally to provide relevant technical comments and ensure that complete information has been gathered for the Secretary's review.

Secretary of Homeland Security Makes a TPS Decision

According to USCIS officials, after receiving the information and recommendations from USCIS and State, as well as information from any other sources, the Secretary of Homeland Security makes a decision regarding a country's initial or existing TPS designation. 43 USCIS officials indicated that the Secretary's decisions may not always follow the recommendations of the USCIS Director or the Secretary of State. For example, among the 26 TPS decisions from 2014 through 2018 that we reviewed, the Secretary of Homeland Security's decision was the same as State's recommendation in 21 cases and differed from State's recommendation in five cases. 44

 Initial designation. USCIS officials stated that if the Secretary of Homeland Security determines a country meets the statutory criteria

⁴²For example, we reviewed an agenda and materials for a briefing related to a TPS review for a country. Participants included officials from the White House, DHS, State, and the Department of Justice. The agenda included an overview of TPS and discussion of decision options. Attached materials included background on TPS and the statutory authorities governing TPS, as well as a summary of country conditions and decision options.

⁴³Although we reviewed the steps that DHS takes to inform the Secretary of Homeland Security's TPS decisions, we did not review the Secretary's decision-making for specific TPS decisions for the countries we selected for our review. See appendix I for additional details of our objectives, scope, and methodology.

⁴⁴The Secretary of State's recommendations in the five cases varied. These cases included instances when State recommended terminating a designation that DHS decided to extend or when State recommended extending a designation that DHS decided to terminate. Because of redactions that had been made in the information we received, we were unable to discern whether any of the Secretary of Homeland Security's TPS decisions differed from USCIS's recommendations.

for designation, the Secretary may then exercise discretion in deciding whether to initially designate the country for TPS.

Existing designation. According to USCIS officials, the Secretary of Homeland Security exercises discretion in determining whether the conditions in a country satisfy statutory conditions for retaining an existing designation. However, the officials indicated that if the Secretary determines that the conditions for TPS designation continue to be met, the Secretary is required under the INA to extend the designation.⁴⁵ Additionally, USCIS officials stated that if the Secretary determines a country no longer meets conditions for TPS designation, the Secretary is required under the INA to terminate the designation. Finally, USCIS officials stated that the Secretary may exercise discretion in deciding to redesignate a country with an existing designation and that factors such as a significant deterioration in country conditions may weigh in favor of a redesignation.⁴⁶

Once the Secretary of Homeland Security decides whether to designate a country or to extend or terminate TPS, the decision may be documented through a signed memorandum or communicated orally to USCIS, according to USCIS officials. DHS provided memorandums or notices documenting the Secretary's TPS decisions for all 26 decisions in our nongeneralizable sample.⁴⁷ After the Secretary makes a TPS decision, DHS typically communicates the decision to State before announcing it to the general public. Either DHS or State then communicates the decision to the foreign embassy in Washington, D.C., and State may communicate it to the foreign government overseas. Finally, under INA provisions

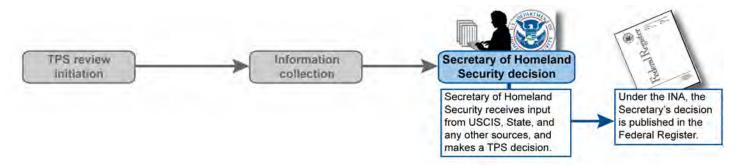
⁴⁵8 U.S.C. § 1254a(b)(3).

⁴⁶USCIS officials noted that, while factors such as a significant deterioration in country conditions may weigh in favor of a redesignation, there is no single factor that the Secretary of Homeland Security has generally considered in exercising discretion to redesignate a country for TPS.

⁴⁷Specifically, DHS provided a completed signature page from a USCIS recommendation memo as documentation of the Secretary of Homeland Security's decisions in six cases. DHS provided a separate memorandum from the Secretary to the Director of USCIS documenting the TPS decision in two cases, a completed signature page for a memorandum from DHS's Office of the General Counsel documenting the Secretary's decision in another case, and completed signature pages for draft Federal Register notices documenting the Secretary's decisions in 17 cases.

related to TPS, the Secretary's decision is published in the Federal Register (see fig. 7).⁴⁸

Figure 7: Secretary of Homeland Security's Decision on Temporary Protected Status (TPS)



Legend: INA = Immigration and Nationality Act; State = Department of State; USCIS = U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services.

Source: GAO analysis of documentary and testimonial information from the Department of Homeland Security and from State. | GAO-20-134

Note: The Secretary of Homeland Security exercises discretion in determining whether to initially designate or redesignate a country for TPS. For an existing designation, under the INA, the Secretary of Homeland Security is required to determine whether country conditions warrant an extension of TPS or whether the country no longer meets the statutory criteria and TPS must be terminated. The INA requires DHS to provide official notice of TPS decisions through the Federal Register. A decision to designate a country for TPS is effective once published in the Federal Register or on a later date specified by the Secretary of Homeland Security. For subsequent TPS reviews of existing designations, DHS is required to provide timely notice of the Secretary of Homeland Security's decision in the Federal Register, and the effective date is generally the day after the end date of the current designation period. The INA provides that a termination shall not be effective earlier than 60 days after the date that a Federal Register notice is published or, if later, the expiration of the most recent previous extension. 8 U.S.C. § 1254a(b).

⁴⁸According to 8 U.S.C. §1254A (b)(1), after the Secretary of Homeland Security makes a decision regarding an initial TPS designation, the designation shall not become effective unless notice of the designation is published in the Federal Register. With regard to decisions to extend or terminate a designation after a required periodic review of an existing designation, the Secretary of Homeland Security is required to provide for the publication of notice of the determination in the Federal Register on a timely basis. Under the law, terminations may not take effect earlier than 60 days after the date of publication of the Federal Register notice announcing the termination decision or, if later, the expiration of the most recent previous extension. See 8 U.S.C. § 1254a(b)(3).

DHS Has
Communicated TPS
Decisions through
Required Federal
Register Notices but
Provided Inconsistent
Guidance on
Employment
Authorizations

DHS Has Communicated TPS Decisions to the Public through Required Federal Register Notices and Other Mechanisms

Since 1990, all TPS decisions have been communicated to the public through statutorily required notices in the Federal Register.⁴⁹ DHS has also used other mechanisms, including press releases and its website, to help disseminate TPS-related information to the public.

We found that a Federal Register notice was published for all TPS decisions, as required under the INA, from November 1990 to September 2019.⁵⁰ In addition, DHS frequently used Federal Register notices as a mechanism for communicating other related information, such as effective dates for TPS designation periods, applicant registration periods, TPS beneficiary eligibility requirements, and information about employment authorization for beneficiaries. For example, the Federal Register notice

⁴⁹The authority to designate countries for TPS was transferred from the Attorney General to the Secretary of Homeland Security in 2003, after the Department of Justice's Immigration and Naturalization Service was abolished and its immigration services and enforcement functions were transferred to the Department of Homeland Security pursuant to the Homeland Security Act of 2002. Pub. L. No. 107-296, title I & IV, §§ 101, 102, 456, 471, 478, 116 Stat. 2135, 2142, 2143-44, 2200-01, 2205, 2211-12 (2002) (classified, as amended, at 6 U.S.C. §§ 111, 112, 275, 291, 298). See also 8 U.S.C. § 1103(a) (powers and duties of the Secretary of Homeland Security).

⁵⁰INA provisions related to TPS state that TPS decisions, including designations, extensions, and terminations, shall be published in the Federal Register. The effective dates of TPS decisions may vary, in accordance with the statute. See 8 U.S.C. § 1254a(b).

extending the TPS designation of El Salvador, published on July 8, 2016, included the following⁵¹:

- summary information about the extension, such as the period of extension and the start and end date of the extension;
- procedures and eligibility information for beneficiaries to register or reregister for TPS and to apply for renewal of employment authorization documents, including required forms and fees to register or reregister;52
- directions for obtaining additional information and help with questions by accessing the USCIS website or by contacting an identified USCIS official or a USCIS customer contact center; and
- general information about TPS as well as information about EI Salvador's initial TPS designation and about the Secretary's authority and reason for extending TPS for El Salvador.

For a Federal Register notice of a TPS decision, according to USCIS officials, USCIS generally takes about 2 weeks to draft the notice. DHS then completes an internal review before submitting the notice to the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) for interagency review, according to officials. OMB's Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs coordinates the notice review process, including gathering comments or proposed revisions from relevant executive branch agencies. For example, we reviewed examples of technical comments from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention regarding draft notices of TPS decisions for the Ebola-affected countries that included information and data on the status of the epidemic and an assessment of health care infrastructure. According to USCIS officials, OMB comments are returned to DHS without identifying the agency that made each comment, and additional interagency review and comment may occur before DHS publishes the notice in the Federal Register. USCIS officials also noted that, under regulation, OMB can take up to 90 days to complete the

⁵¹See 81 Fed. Reg. 44645 (July 8, 2016).

⁵²Once granted TPS, an individual must reregister during each reregistration period, in the case of an extension or redesignation, to maintain TPS benefits. TPS beneficiaries generally have 60 days to reregister. However, late reregistration is permitted if good cause is met and USCIS officials are instructed to give beneficiaries the benefit of any doubt, according to USCIS officials. According to USCIS officials, because of ongoing TPS litigation, eligible beneficiaries from six countries (Haiti, El Salvador, Sudan, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Nepal) are allowed to maintain their TPS, provided they have reregistered during at least one or more of the reregistration periods specified in footnote 1 of the Federal Register notice published at 84 Fed. Reg. 59403 (Nov. 4, 2019).

interagency review, although the officials added that OMB aims to complete the process in a timely manner for TPS notices and generally takes about a month.

According to USCIS officials, to help raise awareness of TPS decisions, USCIS has generally also issued press releases announcing all TPS decisions and published them on its website in addition to publishing Federal Register notices. Table 2 summarizes information from DHS's publication of a press release and Federal Register notice for a 2016 TPS decision.

Table 2: Department of Homeland Security's Public Communication of Temporary Protected Status (TPS) Extension for Honduras in 2016

Type of communication	Publication date	Description
Press release May 16, 20° Federal Register notice May 16, 20°		The prior extension of Honduras's TPS designation was set to end on July 5, 2016. In May, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) published a press release on its website announcing that the Secretary of Homeland Security had extended TPS for eligible nationals of Honduras for an additional 18 months, effective July 6, 2016, through Jan. 5, 2018. The press release included guidance for TPS beneficiaries regarding TPS reregistration requirements. In addition, the press release stated that, for eligible foreign nationals who reregistered for TPS, U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services would issue new employment authorization documents with a Jan. 5, 2018, expiration date.
Federal Register notice	May 16, 2016	DHS published a Federal Register notice of the decision to extend the designation of Honduras for TPS. The notice included additional details of the decision as well as guidance for TPS beneficiaries regarding reregistration requirements.

Source: GAO analysis of DHS documentation and information provided in Federal Register notices. | GAO-20-134

USCIS has also taken other steps to communicate TPS decisions and related information to the public. USCIS has updated its TPS countryspecific webpages with alerts about the latest TPS decisions and registration periods, among other information. Further, according to USCIS officials, the Office of Public Affairs hosted periodic national TPS teleconferences for stakeholders and conducted outreach meetings to respond to questions and discuss TPS information in communities where there might be a large number of TPS beneficiaries. For example, a teleconference invitation from USCIS to stakeholders to discuss the extension of Haiti's TPS designation in May 2017 indicated that USCIS officials would share information about the TPS reregistration period and procedures for eligible Haitian nationals and would respond to stakeholder questions. Officials from USCIS's Office of Public Affairs also stated that the office has drafted guidance for communicating most TPS decisions. We reviewed examples of the guidance, which included planned time lines for publishing the press releases and information to

USCIS's website as well as for conducting outreach to Congress, stakeholder groups, and TPS beneficiaries.

DHS Published Most Federal Register Notices of Decisions on Existing TPS Designations before Previous Designations' End Date USCIS officials noted that once the Secretary of Homeland Security makes a TPS decision, time frames for publishing the Federal Register notice may vary. 53 USCIS officials stated that, in an effort to ensure public awareness of the decisions as soon as possible, USCIS has in some cases published a press release before the Federal Register notice of a decision was finalized and published.

In reviewing TPS decisions for existing designations (i.e., extensions, terminations, and redesignations) in fiscal years 1990 through 2019, we found the following:

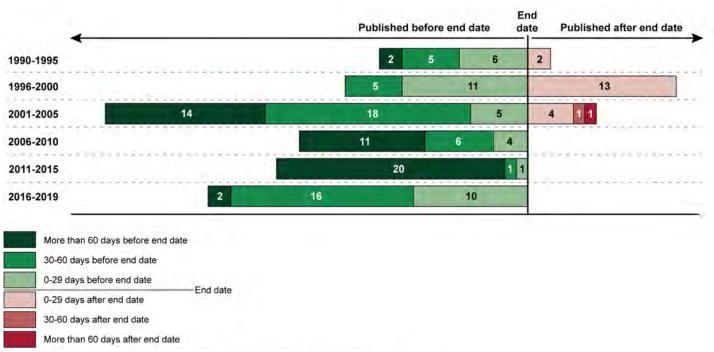
- About two-thirds of Federal Register notices announcing TPS decisions for these existing designations were published at least 30 days before the end date of the previous designation period (100 of 158 total notices).
- In fiscal years 1990 through 2005, 21 Federal Register notices announcing TPS decisions for existing designations were published after the end of the previous designation period.⁵⁴
- In fiscal years 2006 through 2019, all 71 Federal Register notices announcing TPS decisions for existing designations were published 4 to 159 days before the end date of the previous designation period.

See figure 8 for more details.

⁵³The INA requires the Secretary of Homeland Security to undertake a review of country conditions for an existing TPS designation at least 60 days before the end of the current designation period. Under the INA, DHS must publish decisions to extend or terminate a country's TPS designation in the Federal Register on a "timely basis." 8 U.S.C. § 1254a(b)(3). USCIS officials noted that they aim to publish a Federal Register notice as expeditiously as possible after the Secretary makes a TPS decision. However, the officials said that timeframes for publishing the Federal Register notice of a TPS decision may vary, depending on the OMB interagency review process, among other factors.

⁵⁴Under 8 U.S.C. § 1254a, a TPS country designation shall remain in effect until the effective date of the termination of the designation. Therefore, in instances in which the publication of a notice in the Federal Register occurred after the end date of the previous TPS designation, such TPS designation would continue unless and until terminated by the Secretary of Homeland Security.

Figure 8: Numbers of Federal Register Notices of Extensions, Terminations, or Redesignations of Temporary Protected Status (TPS) Designations Published before and after End Dates of Previous Designation Periods, Fiscal Years 1990-2019



Source: GAO analysis of information provided in Department of Homeland Security Federal Register notices. | GAO-20-134

Note: Under 8 U.S.C. § 1254a, DHS must publish decisions to extend or terminate a country's TPS designation in the Federal Register on a timely basis. A TPS country designation remains in effect until the effective date of the termination of the designation. Therefore, while publication of a notice in the Federal Register may occur after the previous period of TPS designation has lapsed, the TPS designation will continue unless and until terminated by the Secretary of Homeland Security.

USCIS Published Guidance Has Not Consistently Identified All Mechanisms Used to Communicate Automatic Extensions of TPS **Employment Authorization Documents**

Since 1990, two mechanisms—Federal Register notices and individually mailed notifications, which TPS beneficiaries may use as evidence of their eligibility for employment—have been used to communicate automatic extensions of employment authorization documents. However, USCIS's published guidance has not consistently identified each of these as official mechanisms to verify eligibility, resulting in confusion among employers about TPS beneficiaries' employment eligibility. The INA states that DHS shall provide TPS beneficiaries with "an 'employment authorized' endorsement or other appropriate work permit" but does not specify the mechanisms that DHS should use to communicate TPS employment authorization. To receive documentation of work authorization, TPS beneficiaries generally apply for an employment authorization document after an initial TPS designation and also after any

subsequent extensions or redesignations of TPS.⁵⁵ See the text box for a description of the process that TPS beneficiaries and employers must follow to verify beneficiaries' employment eligibility.

 $^{^{55}\}mbox{According to USCIS}$ officials, TPS registrants and reregistrants are not required to apply for an employment authorization document; however, TPS beneficiaries typically apply for the document to obtain evidence of authorization to work in the United States.

Employment Eligibility Verification (Form I-9) Process

Form I-9 lays out a process for verifying that an employee is authorized to work in the United States. First, Form I-9 requires the employee to attest to his or her citizenship or immigration status and provide acceptable documentation of identity and employment authorization. Such documents may establish both identity and employment eligibility (e.g., an employment authorization document—Form I-766—that contains a photograph) or may establish identity only (e.g., a driver's license) or employment eligibility only (e.g., a Social Security card).

Next, Form I-9 requires the employer to attest that he or she has examined the documents presented by the employee; that the documents appear to be genuine and relate to the employee; and that, to the best of the employer's knowledge, the employee is authorized to work in the United States. In examining the documents, the employer must reject any that do not reasonably appear to be genuine and to relate to the individual presenting them or that are not on the list of acceptable documents; the employer must then ask for other documents that satisfy the requirements of Form I-9.

	USCIS Form 1-9 OMB No. 1613-004 Expres 10-31 2023								
START HERE: Read Instru during completion of this for ANTI-DISCRIMINATION NOT employee may present to esta documentation presented has	m. Employers a ICE: It is illegal to blish employment	e liable for errors discriminate agains authorization and i	in the st work dentity	completion of the authorized indivi- The refusal to h	nis form. duals, Employers are or continue to	CANNO	OT specify v	which document(s) an	
Section 1. Employee					ist complete an	d sign 3	Section 1 o	of Form I-9 no later	
Last Name (Family Name)	The second second	First Name (Given Name)			Other	Other Last Names Used (if any)			
Address (Street Number and)	Apt. Nur	Apt. Number City or Town				State	ZJP Code		
Date of Birth (mm/dd/yyyy)	curity Number	umber Employee's E-mail Address				Employee's Telephone Number			
i am aware that federal is connection with the com I attest, under penalty of 1 A ciuzen of the United	pletion of this perjury, that I	form.				or use	of false di	ocuments in	
2. A noncitizen national of	the United State	s (See Instructions)	()						
3. A lawful permanent res	ident (Alien Re	gistration Number/l	USCIS	Number)					
4. An alien authorized to Some aliens may write Aliens authorized to work may	"N/A" in the sape	alion date field, (Se	ee inst	ructions)		-		JR Code Section 1	

Source: GAO summary of U.S. Citizenship and immigration Services documents and guidance. | GAO-20-134

According to USCIS officials, USCIS aims to adjudicate both initial employment authorization applications and renewal applications within 90 days after receiving an application. When it is unable to process the adjudications in this time frame, USCIS issues automatic extensions of expiring employment authorization documents for TPS beneficiaries from

a specific country, to allow time for USCIS to process the volume of applications associated with a TPS reregistration period.⁵⁶ In some instances, USCIS may issue additional automatic extensions of employment authorization documents for specific countries if it has been unable to process all pending applications within the initial automatic extension period, according to USCIS officials.

When employment authorization documents are automatically extended for eligible TPS beneficiaries, the documents may appear to have expired even though they remain valid. According to USCIS officials, DHS has used the Federal Register notices announcing TPS decisions to communicate most automatic extensions of TPS employment authorization documents. For example, on January 17, 2017, DHS published a Federal Register notice extending the TPS designation of Somalia for 18 months and, in the same notice, automatically extended for 6 months the validity of employment authorization documents issued under Somalia's TPS designation.57 DHS has also communicated automatic extensions of TPS employment authorization documents through Federal Register notices independent of a TPS decision. Generally, Federal Register notices announcing automatic extensions of TPS employment authorization documents include instructions for employers for completing the Form I-9, among other things. Additionally, some notices state that, to reduce employer confusion regarding automatic extensions of TPS employment authorization documents, beneficiaries should explain the extension to their employer and may also provide their employer with a copy of the relevant Federal Register notice.

⁵⁶According to USCIS guidance, automatic extensions of employment authorization documents for TPS beneficiaries may be valid for up to 180 days. USCIS officials told us that beneficiaries must generally reregister during the reregistration period for an extension of their status and that reregistration is required for beneficiaries to obtain a new employment authorization document with the validity dates of the new TPS designation period. Individual TPS beneficiaries may also receive an automatic extension of their expiring employment authorization document on the basis of timely filing of a renewal application. According to USCIS officials, these extensions are issued on an individual basis. See 8 CFR 274a.13(d).

⁵⁷According to USCIS officials, the majority of Federal Register notices announcing TPS decisions have included an automatic extension of employment authorization documents. However, some automatic extensions have been announced through Federal Register notices independent of TPS decisions. For example, on July 7, 2005, DHS published a Federal Register notice solely to announce an automatic extension of employment authorization documentation for Honduran and Nicaraguan TPS beneficiaries. See 70 Fed. Reg. 39325 (July 7, 2005).

In five cases, beginning in fiscal year 2018, USCIS mailed notifications of automatic extensions of employment authorization documents to thousands of TPS beneficiaries from Haiti, El Salvador, Syria, and Honduras as an alternative or a supplement to posting the information in Federal Register notices. 58 USCIS officials told us that in these cases, they mailed individual notifications of the automatic extensions to ensure that the beneficiaries would not experience any gaps in employment authorization. According to the officials, they began this practice because of the large number of affected beneficiaries. Our examination of USCIS documents found that in four of these five cases, USCIS mailed individual notifications to the TPS beneficiaries without also posting a Federal Register notice communicating the automatic extension.

In all five cases, USCIS published guidance on its website to inform TPS beneficiaries and employers about the use of individually mailed notifications to communicate employment authorization document extensions. USCIS's website states that TPS beneficiaries may present the Federal Register notice or individually mailed notification to their employer along with their expired employment authorization documents to show proof of continued employment authorization. The individual notifications also state that beneficiaries may show the notifications, along with the expired employment authorization document, to any U.S. employer as proof of continued employment authorization.⁵⁹

However, a USCIS handbook for employers and related guidance do not specifically identify the individually mailed notifications as an official means of communicating these extensions.

 USCIS's Handbook for Employers: Guidance for Completing Form I-9 (M-274) provides guidance for employers on how to properly complete Form I-9, which helps employers verify that individuals are authorized to work in the United States. The handbook contains a section about

⁵⁸Specifically, USCIS mailed notifications of automatic extensions of employment authorization documents for Haiti on January 22, 2018, and on July 18, 2018; for El Salvador on August 23, 2018; for Syria on September 11, 2018; and for Honduras on December 6, 2018. USCIS communicated an automatic extension of employment authorization documents for TPS beneficiaries from Haiti through the individually mailed notification, sent on January 22, 2018, as well as through a Federal Register notice published on January 18, 2018.

⁵⁹USCIS officials noted that USCIS also provides information about automatic extensions of TPS employment authorization documents in E-Verify, a voluntary web-based system that allows employers to confirm the eligibility of their employees to work in the United States.

automatic employment authorization document extensions for TPS beneficiaries that references USCIS's use of Federal Register notices to inform the public of these extensions. However, the handbook for employers does not mention USCIS's use of individually mailed notifications to communicate the automatic extensions.

USCIS's Instructions for Form I-9, Employment Eligibility Verification notes that certain employees, including TPS beneficiaries, may present an expired employment authorization document, which may be considered unexpired if the document has been extended by USCIS. The guidance also notes that employees should enter the expiration date of an automatic extension on Form I-9. However, the instructions for Form I-9 do not detail USCIS's mechanisms for communicating these extensions, including its use of individually mailed notifications.

Some employers have reportedly refused to accept expired employment authorization documents as proof of work authorization when the documents had been automatically extended. For example, the Department of Justice's Civil Rights Division telephone interventions website indicates that on approximately 50 occasions from September 2017 through May 2019, the Immigrant and Employee Rights Section intervened to deter employers or medical licensing boards from rejecting valid work authorization documents and, in some cases, from terminating employment for TPS beneficiaries whose employment authorization documents had been automatically extended. 60 Also, a letter to USCIS signed by 70 law professors and scholars states that some legal service providers have reported instances of employers' terminating TPS beneficiaries' employment because the employer did not understand or accept the individually mailed notifications. 61 Further, USCIS has received feedback from certain stakeholders concerned that beneficiaries might not be receiving the individual notifications in time to avoid any potential gaps in work authorization, according to USCIS officials.

USCIS officials told us that the Federal Register process may be beneficial for communicating employment authorization in some cases but that they may also continue to use the individually mailed notifications

⁶⁰Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, "Telephone Interventions," accessed June 27, 2019, https://www.justice.gov/crt/telephone-interventions-2.

⁶¹Catholic Legal Immigration Network, letter to Secretary of Homeland Security and Director of U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, November 28, 2018, accessed March 27, 2019, https://cliniclegal.org/resources/humanitarian-relief/letter-70-lawprofessors-and-scholars-uscis-and-dhs-regarding-work.

as a mechanism to communicate future extensions, depending on the circumstances. USCIS has acknowledged the potential benefits of updating external guidance regarding automatic extensions of TPS employment authorization documents. However, as of December 2019, USCIS had not taken action to do so. Replying to a letter of concern from an advocacy group, USCIS stated that it could consider updating the handbook for employers to add additional guidance regarding individually mailed notifications.⁶²

Effective information and communication are vital for an entity to achieve its objectives. According to *Standards for Internal Control in the Federal Government*, management should document policies in the appropriate level of detail and externally communicate the necessary quality information to achieve an entity's objectives.⁶³ Updating external guidance, such as the employer handbook, to clearly identify each of the official mechanisms that USCIS may use to communicate automatic extensions of TPS employment authorization documents could help USCIS ensure that employers understand and accept each of its official mechanisms for communicating these automatic extensions. This, in turn, would help to reduce the risk of employers' terminating beneficiaries from their jobs as a result of confusion caused by unclear or inconsistent guidance.

Conclusions

The Secretary of Homeland Security has granted TPS, providing work authorization and protection from removal, to foreign nationals from 22 countries since TPS was established in 1990. DHS has generally communicated information about employment authorization for TPS beneficiaries in a Federal Register notice, although in some cases USCIS used individually mailed notifications to communicate automatic extensions of employment authorization documents. However, USCIS's published guidance has not consistently identified individually mailed notifications as a mechanism that may be used, leading to confusion about beneficiaries' employment eligibility and reportedly resulting in termination of some beneficiaries' employment. Consistent published guidance that clearly identifies each of the mechanisms used to communicate automatic extensions of TPS employment authorization

⁶²U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, letter to Director of Advocacy at the Catholic Legal Immigration Network, December 6, 2018, accessed June 27, 2019, https://www.uscis.gov/sites/default/files/files/nativedocuments/Work_Authorization_extensions_for_individuals_with_TPS_from_Haiti_El_Salvador_and_Syria_-_Bussey.pdf.

⁶³GAO-14-704G.

documents could help USCIS ensure that employers understand and accept the evidence USCIS provides for employment authorization, reducing the risk of erroneous termination of beneficiaries' employment.

Recommendation for **Executive Action**

The Director of USCIS should update published guidance, such as Handbook for Employers: Guidance for Completing Form I-9 (M-274), to consistently identify each of the official mechanisms that USCIS may use to communicate automatic extensions of TPS employment authorization documents.

(Recommendation 1)

Agency Comments

We provided a draft of this report to DHS, State, the Department of Defense, the Department of Health and Human Services, and the U.S. Agency for International Development for review and comment. In its written comments, reproduced in appendix III, DHS agreed with our recommendation and noted planned actions to implement it, including updating guidance in DHS's M-274 handbook. DHS's planned actions will address the intent of our recommendation if they include updating guidance regarding each of the official mechanisms that USCIS may use to communicate automatic extensions of TPS employment authorization documents, including the use of individually mailed notifications. The U.S. Agency for International Development also provided written comments, which are reproduced in appendix IV. In addition, DHS and State provided technical comments that we incorporated as appropriate. The Department of Defense and the Department of Health and Human Services did not provide comments.

We are sending copies of this report to the appropriate congressional committees, and the Acting Secretary of Homeland Security and Secretary of State, as well as the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, the Director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, and the Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development.

If you or your staff have any questions about this report, please contact Chelsa Gurkin at (202) 512-2964 or GurkinC@gao.gov, or Rebecca Gambler at (202) 512-6912 or GamblerR@gao.gov. Contact points for our Offices of Congressional Relations and Public Affairs may be found on the last page of this report. GAO staff who made major contributions to this reports are listed in appendix V.

Chelsa Gurkin

Chefsa gura

Director, International Affairs and Trade

Document 166

Rebecca Gambler

Director, Homeland Security and Justice

Relecca Gambler

List of Requesters

Document 166

The Honorable Benjamin L. Cardin Ranking Member Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere, Transnational Crime, Civilian Security, Democracy, Human Rights, and Global Women's Issues Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate

The Honorable Richard Blumenthal United States Senate

The Honorable Cory A. Booker United States Senate

The Honorable Richard J. Durbin United States Senate

The Honorable Kirsten Gillibrand United States Senate

The Honorable Edward J. Markey United States Senate

The Honorable Jeffrey A. Merkley United States Senate

The Honorable Gary C. Peters United States Senate

Our objectives were to (1) describe Temporary Protected Status (TPS) determinations and numbers of beneficiaries since TPS was established in 1990; (2) describe the approach that the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), in consultation with the Department of State (State) and other relevant agencies, takes to inform the Secretary of Homeland Security's TPS reviews; and (3) examine DHS's public communication regarding TPS decisions and related information, including work authorization.

To describe TPS determinations since TPS was established in 1990, we reviewed information and data in Federal Register notices for all TPS designations in fiscal years 1990 through 2019. Specifically, we reviewed the designation time frames and bases (i.e., ongoing armed conflict, environmental disaster, or extraordinary and temporary conditions) for each designation since TPS was established. We also analyzed U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) data on numbers of TPS beneficiaries for fiscal years 1990 through 2018. In addition, we analyzed USCIS data on TPS beneficiaries' characteristics, such as numbers, location, age, and gender of foreign nationals granted TPS, for fiscal year 2018.

To assess the reliability of USCIS data on TPS beneficiaries, we reviewed documentation and interviewed USCIS officials to identify and rectify any missing or erroneous data. According to USCIS officials, USCIS removes from its data on TPS beneficiaries any who become U.S. citizens or whose status is withdrawn, either because they no longer meet eligibility requirements or because they requested that USCIS withdraw their status. However, according to officials, the data may include foreign nationals who have since died, moved out of the country, or have an additional immigration status. Additionally, because the data comprise information provided by TPS applicants, the data may include a small number of applicant errors, according to officials. We determined that the data for fiscal years 2000 through 2018 were sufficiently reliable to provide general information about the size and characteristics of TPS

¹We selected this time period to include data on beneficiaries from the fiscal year when TPS was established through the most recent fiscal year for which data were available.

beneficiaries.² USCIS was not able to provide reliable data on numbers of TPS beneficiaries before fiscal year 2000 because, according to USCIS officials, these data were not consistently entered electronically in USCIS information systems.

To describe the approach that DHS, in consultation with State and other relevant agencies, takes to inform the Secretary of Homeland Security's TPS reviews, we reviewed provisions in the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) related to TPS as well as DHS and State documentation, such as informal guidance documents used since fiscal year 2014 or earlier regarding steps taken for a TPS review.3 We also conducted interviews with DHS and State officials related to the processes they have used to collect information for TPS reviews since fiscal year 2014. Specifically, we interviewed DHS officials from U.S. Customs and Border Protection; the U.S. Coast Guard; U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement; the Management Directorate; the Office of the Executive Secretary; the Office of Intelligence and Analysis; the Office of Legislative Affairs; the Office of Partnership and Engagement; the Office of Public Affairs; the Office of Strategy, Policy, and Plans, including the Office of Immigration Statistics; and USCIS—in particular, USCIS's Office of Policy and Strategy and USCIS's Refugees, Asylum, and International Operations Directorate. We interviewed State officials from the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration and several regional bureaus, including desk officers from the Bureaus of African Affairs, Near Eastern Affairs, South and Central Asian Affairs, and Western Hemisphere Affairs. We also interviewed State

²USCIS also compiles estimates of expected TPS reregistrants based on reregistration trends; according to USCIS officials, these estimates help USCIS to forecast its budget. According to officials, USCIS recently stopped including expected TPS reregistration numbers in the Federal Register notices because the public found the data confusing. The officials added that the estimates could also be misleading depending on the circumstances, because, although the estimates are based largely on numbers of prior reregistrants, additional individuals from a country that is redesignated for TPS may be able to newly register for TPS. Therefore, we have not included USCIS data on expected TPS reregistrants in this report.

³We reviewed an internal template that USCIS's Refugee, Asylum and International Operations Directorate (RAIO) officials told us that they use as informal guidance for the draft country conditions reports that they compile for USCIS's Office of Policy & Strategy for reviews for initial or existing TPS designations. We did not assess the extent to which the RAIO country condition reports in our judgmental sample aligned with RAIO's internal template for these reports; rather, our methodology consisted of reviewing the reports in our sample to provide a general overview of the content and types of information included in each report.

officials from overseas posts for countries that we selected for our review, including El Salvador, Haiti, Honduras, Nepal, Sudan, and Yemen.⁴

We reviewed documentation that DHS and State provided for a judgmental, nongeneralizable sample of eight countries for which DHS rendered TPS decisions in fiscal years 2014 through 2018 (El Salvador, Haiti, Honduras, Nepal, Nicaragua, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen); the TPS decisions for these eight countries represented 26 of a total of 42 TPS decisions for 13 countries in that period. 5 We selected this sample to represent a range of decision types and designation reasons, among other factors. While this sample cannot be generalized to the countries or decisions we did not review, it provided valuable information about the approach that DHS uses for TPS reviews. The primary documents that we reviewed for each decision included information about country conditions that USCIS and State had compiled and recommendations that USCIS and State leadership had provided to the Secretary of Homeland Security. Some of the documents that we received had been redacted because of ongoing litigation related to TPS. Table 3 provides additional details of the decisions in our judgmental sample.

⁴We were not able to interview officials from the post in Nicaragua, because the mission had been evacuated after the latest TPS review and State officials informed us that those present at the post at the time of our review would not be able to respond to our questions. However, we were able to interview the regional bureau desk officer for Nicaragua, who was previously posted in Nicaragua during the latest TPS review for Nicaragua. In addition, regional bureau officials told us that State did not obtain country conditions information directly from the post for TPS reviews for Syria, because the embassy was closed due to hostilities in the country.

⁵Although we reviewed the approach that DHS takes to inform the Secretary of Homeland Security's TPS reviews, we did not review the Secretary of Homeland Security's decision-making for specific TPS decisions for the eight countries in our sample.

No.	Country	Decision type	Designation basis	Federal Registe notice date		
1	El Salvador	Extension	Environmental disaster	Jan. 7, 2015		
2	El Salvador	Extension	Environmental disaster	July 8, 2016		
3	El Salvador	Termination	Environmental disaster	Jan. 18, 2018		
1	Haiti	Extension	Extraordinary and temporary conditions	Mar. 3, 2014		
5	Haiti	Extension	Extraordinary and temporary conditions	Aug. 25, 2015		
6	Haiti	Extension	Extraordinary and temporary conditions	May 24. 2017		
7	Haiti	Termination	Extraordinary and temporary conditions	Jan. 18, 2018		
3	Honduras	Extension	Environmental disaster	Oct. 16, 2014		
)	Honduras	Extension	Environmental disaster	May 16, 2016		
10	Honduras	Extension	Environmental disaster	Dec. 15, 2017		
11	Honduras	Termination	Environmental disaster	June 5, 2018		
12	Nepal	Designation	Environmental disaster	June 24. 2015		
3	Nepal	Extension	Environmental disaster	Oct. 26, 2016		
4	Nepal	Termination	Environmental disaster	May 22, 2018		
5	Nicaragua	Extension	Environmental disaster	Oct. 16, 2014		
6	Nicaragua	Extension	Environmental disaster	May 16, 2016		
7	Nicaragua	Termination	Environmental disaster	Dec. 15, 2017		
18	Sudan	Extension	Armed conflict; extraordinary and temporary conditions	Sept. 2, 2014		
19	Sudan	Extension	Armed conflict; extraordinary and temporary conditions	Jan. 25, 2016		
20	Sudan	Termination	Armed conflict; extraordinary and temporary conditions	Oct. 11, 2017		
21	Syria	Extension, redesignation ^a	Armed conflict; extraordinary and temporary conditions	Jan. 5, 2015		
22	Syria	Extension, redesignation	Armed conflict; extraordinary and temporary conditions	Aug. 1, 2016		
23	Syria	Extension	Armed conflict; extraordinary and temporary conditions	Mar. 5, 2018		
24	Yemen	Designation	Armed conflict	Sept. 3, 2015		
25	Yemen	Extension, redesignation	Armed conflict; extraordinary and temporary conditions	Jan. 4, 2017		
26	Yemen	Extension	Armed conflict; extraordinary and temporary conditions	Aug. 14, 2018		

Source: GAO summary of information about our judgmental sample of TPS decisions. | GAO-20-134

^aAccording to USCIS officials, from 1997 through 2017, DHS used the term "redesignate" for instances in which the Secretary of Homeland Security newly designated a country for TPS after an initial designation or extension period. Beginning in 2018, DHS began using the term "newly designate" for these decisions. See 8 U.S.C. §1254a(b).

In addition, we reviewed examples of other information that may be provided for a TPS review, including examples of input from other DHS components, other U.S. agencies, the White House, members of Congress, foreign governments, and nongovernmental organizations. Specifically, we received examples of this type of information for each of the eight countries in our judgmental, nongeneralizable sample, representing 15 of the 26 TPS decisions. For example, this information included immigration data and internal intelligence analyses compiled by DHS's Office of Immigration Statistics, U.S. Customs and Border Protection, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, and Office of Intelligence and Analysis. We also reviewed examples of updates provided by senior Department of Defense officials for the Secretary of Homeland Security regarding the security situation in a country; technical input from the Department of Health and Human Services Centers for Disease Control and Prevention about the status of an epidemic in a country; and information from the U.S. Agency for International Development about country conditions on the ground. In addition, we interviewed officials from these three agencies regarding the types of information that they may provide for TPS reviews. Further, we reviewed examples of letters from members of Congress, foreign government officials, and nongovernmental organizations related to TPS reviews. Moreover, we reviewed examples of briefing or meeting agendas and related materials for internal and external briefings, including external briefings with White House officials, foreign government officials, and nongovernmental organizations.

To examine DHS's public communication regarding TPS decisions and related information, including work authorization, we reviewed DHS's public communications related to TPS, including Federal Register notices, press releases, and USCIS's website, among other information. We analyzed information in Federal Register notices published from November 29, 1990, through October 1, 2019 (the most recent available at the time of our review), to determine the timing of notices for TPS decisions and the types of information included in the notices. We reviewed examples of USCIS's Office of Public Affairs guidance for public communication of TPS decisions. We also interviewed USCIS officials regarding the mechanisms that DHS used to communicate TPS decisions and related information, including DHS's process for drafting and publishing Federal Register notices.

Further, we examined DHS's guidance and procedures as of fiscal year 2019 for communicating TPS employment authorization, including automatic extensions of employment authorization. We reviewed USCIS's

public communications related to automatic extensions of TPS employment authorization for both beneficiaries and employers in Federal Register notices, individually mailed notifications, an employer handbook, and information published on USCIS's website. We interviewed USCIS officials regarding USCIS's approach to communicating TPS employment authorization, including automatic extensions. We also reviewed information from the Department of Justice Civil Rights Division's website related to confusion over automatic extensions of employment authorization documents for TPS beneficiaries.⁶ Additionally, we reviewed a letter to USCIS signed by 70 law professors and scholars related to instances of employers terminating TPS beneficiaries.⁷ Finally, we compared DHS's guidance and procedures with federal internal control standards related to documenting policies and externally communicating information.⁸

We conducted this performance audit from September 2018 to March 2020 in accordance with generally accepted government auditing standards. Those standards require that we plan and perform the audit to obtain sufficient, appropriate evidence to provide a reasonable basis for our findings and conclusions based on our audit objectives. We believe that the evidence obtained provides a reasonable basis for our findings and conclusions based on our audit objectives.

⁶Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, "Telephone Interventions," accessed June 27, 2019, https://www.justice.gov/crt/telephone-interventions-2.

⁷Catholic Legal Immigration Network, letter to Secretary of DHS and Director of USCIS, November 18, 2018, accessed March 27, 2019, https://cliniclegal.org/resources/humanitarian-relief/letter-70-law-professors-and-scholars-uscis-and-dhs-regarding-work. We did not independently verify the issues cited in this letter.

⁸GAO, Standards for Internal Control in the Federal Government, GAO-14-704G (Washington, D.C.: September 2014).

Appendix II: Numbers and Characteristics of Temporary Protected Status Beneficiaries, Fiscal Years 2000-2018

Table 4 lists the numbers of TPS beneficiaries, by country of citizenship, in fiscal years 2000 through 2018. During this period, the country with the largest number of TPS beneficiaries in any given fiscal year was El Salvador, with 262,262 in fiscal year 2010; followed by Honduras, with 85,759 in fiscal year 2007; and Haiti, with 58,294 in fiscal year 2014. In contrast, during the same period, Montserrat had the smallest maximum number of TPS beneficiaries in any given fiscal year, with a maximum of 21 in fiscal year 2004; followed by Angola, with a maximum of 47 in fiscal year 2002; and Burundi, with a maximum of 50 in fiscal year 2007.

Year	Somalia	Monserrat	Burundi	Sierra Leone	Sudan	Honduras	Nicaragua	Angola	El Salvador	Haiti	South Sudan	Syria	Guinea	Liberia	Nepal	Yemen
2000	10	15	19	961	179	65,874	3,581	22	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	_
2001	10	20	25	1,048	191	69,573	3,751	39	21,890	_	_	_	_	_	_	_
2002	37	20	25	1,082	193	72,812	4,013	47	98,364	-	-	-	_	-	-	_
2003	156	20	29	1,113	193	75,467	4,209	-	166,654	-	-	-	-	1,596	-	_
2004	167	21	29	-	192	78,183	4,433	-	225,301	-	-	-	-	1,959	-	-
2005	173	-	31	-	222	83,874	4,734	_	242,713	_	-	-	-	2,081	_	-
2006	385	_	49	-	603	85,414	4,850	_	252,786	_	-	-	-	4,474	_	_
2007	408	_	50	-	637	85,759	4,910	_	257,345	_	-	-	-	4,508	_	_
2008	414	_	49	-	645	85,461	4,935	_	261,181	_	-	-	-	_	_	_
2009	421	_	_	_	658	85,101	4,970	_	262,006	_	-	-	_	_	_	_
2010	440	_	_	_	668	85,150	4,966	_	262,262	42,132	-	-	_	_	_	_
2011	440	_	_	-	659	84,498	4,925	_	261,227	48,695	-	-	-	_	_	_
2012	436	_	-	-	659	84,005	4,891	_	260,476	58,031	1	177	_	-	-	_
2013	461	_	_	_	682	83,747	4,850	_	259,926	58,232	3	2,036	_	_	_	_
2014	479	_	_	-	829	83,049	4,790	_	258,071	58,294	20	4,471	_	_	_	_
2015	476	-	_	840	834	82,515	4,730	-	256,631	57,987	26	4,830	542	1,612	1,085	-
2016	480	-	-	1,256	830	81,635	4,657	-	253,619	57,638	42	6,008	1,013	2,303	12,139	780
2017	477	_	-	-	829	80,637	4,567	-	250,932	57,152	74	6,831	-	-	14,516	1,090
2018	463	_	_	_	804	80,748	4,524	_	251,664	56,455	83	7,009	-	-	14,578	1,464

Legend: - = no TPS beneficiaries.

Source: GAO analysis of U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services data. | GAO-20-134

Notes: The data shown for each fiscal year represent eligible foreign nationals who were granted TPS and whose status was valid as of September 30 of that fiscal year. According to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services officials, foreign nationals granted TPS may be included in the data for multiple fiscal years as long as they maintain valid status. Officials noted that, depending on the population size, it may take USCIS years to adjudicate all applications for TPS from nationals of a given country. Therefore, numbers of TPS beneficiaries may continue to increase after the established registration period for a specific designation. The data shown may also include some eligible foreign nationals who have an additional immigration status as well as some who have left the United States or died, according to USCIS officials. USCIS officials noted that TPS beneficiaries who become U.S. citizens or whose status is withdrawn, either because they no longer meet eligibility requirements or because they requested that USCIS withdraw their status, are removed from the data in the fiscal year that their status changes. According to USCIS officials, data for TPS beneficiaries were not consistently entered electronically in USCIS's information system before fiscal year 2000. As a result, we determined that USCIS data on numbers of TPS beneficiaries before fiscal year 2000 were not sufficiently reliable for our purposes.

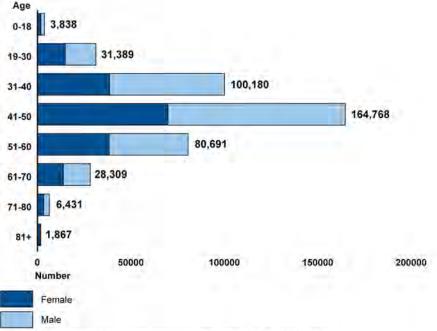
Page 107 of 342

Appendix II: Numbers and Characteristics of Temporary Protected Status Beneficiaries, Fiscal Years 2000-2018

Document 166

Figure 9 presents the ages and genders of Temporary Protected Status (TPS) beneficiaries in fiscal year 2018, based on U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services information and data. The majority of TPS beneficiaries in fiscal year 2018 were 31 to 50 years of age (62 percent) and male (55 percent).

Figure 9: Age and Gender of Temporary Protected Status (TPS) Beneficiaries, Fiscal Year 2018

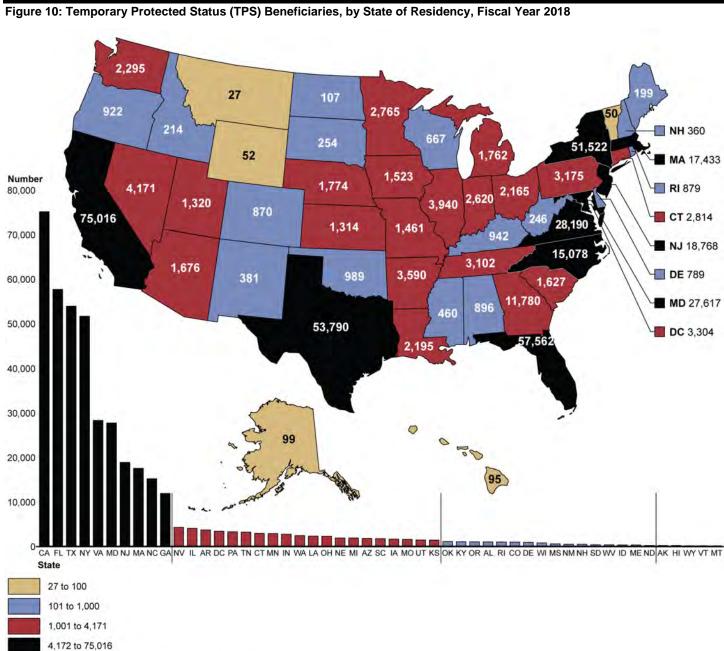


Source: GAO analysis of U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services data. | GAO-20-134

Note: The data shown represent foreign nationals who were granted TPS as of September 30, 2018. According to U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), data are self-reported by Temporary Protected Status beneficiaries and may therefore include a small number of records with applicant error. As a result, the data shown do not sum precisely to the total number of TPS beneficiaries in fiscal year 2018 (417,792). According to USCIS officials, data may include some eligible foreign nationals who have an additional immigration status as well as some who have left the United States or died.

Figure 10 shows the location, by state of residency, of TPS beneficiaries in fiscal year 2018. TPS beneficiaries resided in all 50 states and the District of Columbia in fiscal year 2018, with the highest populations in California, Florida, Texas, and New York.

Appendix II: Numbers and Characteristics of Temporary Protected Status Beneficiaries, Fiscal Years 2000-2018



Source: GAO analysis of U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services data. | GAO-20-134

Note: The data shown reflect addresses in U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services' (USCIS) information system at the time of the most recently approved TPS applications for eligible foreign nationals who were granted TPS as of September 30, 2018. According to USCIS officials, the data do not reflect any address changes after the most recently approved application. The data shown are

Appendix II: Numbers and Characteristics of Temporary Protected Status Beneficiaries, Fiscal Years 2000-2018

self-reported by TPS beneficiaries and therefore may include a small number of records with applicant error, according to USCIS officials. Additionally, the data do not reflect TPS beneficiaries residing in U.S. territories or serving in the U.S. armed forces. As a result, the data shown do not sum precisely to the total number of TPS beneficiaries in fiscal year 2018 (417,792). According to officials, the data may include some eligible foreign nationals who have an additional immigration status as well as some who have left the United States or died.

Appendix III: Comments from Department of Homeland Security



March 6, 2020

Chelsa Gurkin Director, International Affairs and Trade U.S. Government Accountability Office 441 G Street, NW Washington, DC 20548

Rebecca Gambler Director, Homeland Security and Justice U.S. Government Accountability Office 441 G Street, NW Washington, DC 20548

Management Response to Draft Report GAO-20-134, "TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS: Steps Taken to Inform and Communicate Secretary of Homeland Security's Decisions"

Dear Ms. Gurkin and Ms. Gambler:

Thank you for the opportunity to comment on this draft report. The U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) appreciates the U.S. Government Accountability Office's (GAO) work in planning and conducting its review and issuing this report.

The Department is pleased to note GAO's (1) reporting of DHS's decision-making process for determining whether to designate, extend, or terminate a foreign state's designation for Temporary Protected Status (TPS), and (2) recognition that DHS communicates all TPS decisions to the public through required Federal Register notices and other mechanisms, such as website postings. DHS remains committed to making all TPS determinations in full compliance with the law.

The draft report contained one recommendation with which the Department concurs. Attached find our detailed response to the recommendation. DHS previously submitted technical comments under a separate cover for GAO's consideration.

Again, thank you for the opportunity to review and comment on this draft report. Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions. We look forward to working with you again in the future.

Sincerely,

JIMH. CRUMPAČKER, CIA, CFE

Director

Departmental GAO-OIG Liaison Office

Attachment

2

Appendix III: Comments from Department of Homeland Security

Attachment: Management Response to Recommendation Contained in GAO-20-134

GAO recommended that the Director of U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS):

Recommendation 1: Update published guidance, such as Handbook for Employers: Guidance for Completing Form I-9 (M-274), to consistently identify each of the official mechanisms that USCIS may use to communicate automatic extensions of TPS employment authorization documents.

Response: Concur. USCIS's Immigration Records and Identity Services Directorate (IRIS)-Verification Division is currently revising the M-274. The revised M-274 will provide additional information on completing the Employment Eligibility Verification (Form 1-9) for TPS beneficiaries. Specifically, these revisions will include additional subsections of instructions for completing Form I-9 when a TPS beneficiary's Employment Authorization Document (EAD) is automatically extended by a Federal Register notice and/or a TPS beneficiary receives a Notice of Action, Form I-797C, automatically extending their expired EAD after applying for a new EAD. Also, the IRIS-Verification Division will revise TPS guidance on I-9 Central, the online Form I-9 resource center, to reflect the information added to the M-274. Estimated Completion Date: April 30, 2020.

Appendix IV: Comments from U.S. Agency for International Development



MAR 1 0 2020

Thomas Melito Managing Director, International Affairs and Trade U.S. Government Accountability Office 441 G Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20226

Re: TEMPORARY PROTECTED STATUS – Steps Taken to Inform and Communicate Secretary of Homeland Security's Decisions (GAO-20-134)

Dear Mr. Melito:

Thank you for providing the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) with an opportunity to review and comment on the draft report produced by the U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) titled, *Temporary Protected Status: Steps Taken to Inform and Communicate Secretary of Homeland Security's Decisions* (GAO-20-134). USAID does not have any comments on the draft report.

In this engagement, the GAO reviewed the internal decision-making process at the U.S. Department of State for designating and/or extending Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for select nationalities. The GAO also reviewed the State Department's process for seeking input for the review of TPS by the Secretary for Homeland Security. USAID is not involved in the decision-making process for TPS designations; however, the State Department might ask the Agency to provide information gathered "on the ground" or from publicly available sources.

Thank you for the opportunity to respond to the draft report.

Sincerely,

Frederick M. Nutt Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Management

Enclosure: a/s

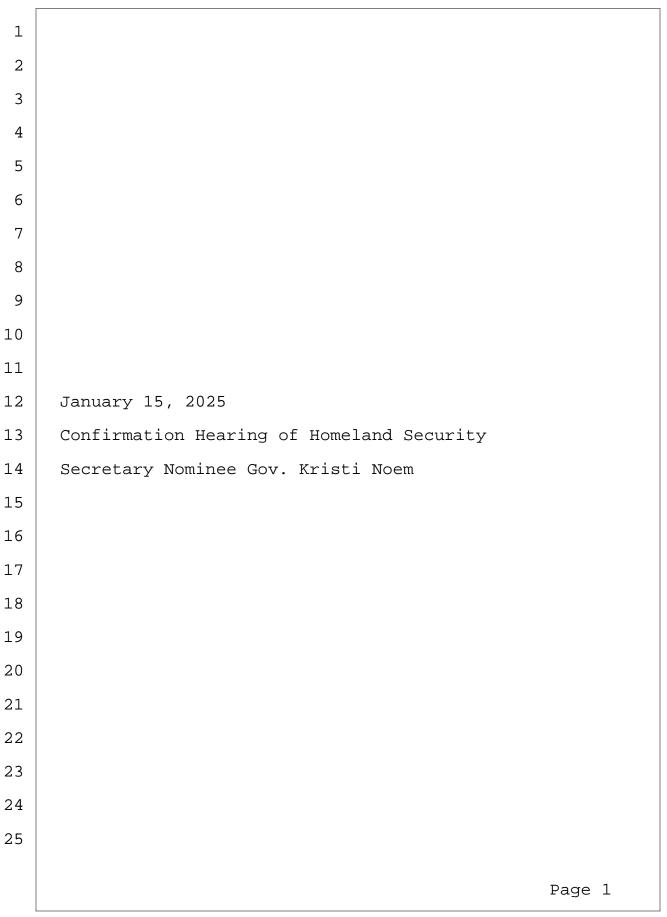
Appendix V: GAO Contacts and Staff Acknowledgments

GAO Contacts	Chelsa Gurkin, (202) 512-2964 or GurkinC@gao.gov		
	Rebecca Gambler, (202) 512-6912 or GamblerR@gao.gov		
Staff Acknowledgments	In addition to the contacts named above, Miriam Carroll Fenton and Taylor Matheson (Assistant Directors), Elisabeth Helmer, Cristina Norland, Ben DeYoung, Martin De Alteriis, Neil Doherty, Jenny Grover, Reid Lowe, Mary Moutsos, Jan Montgomery, Jon Najmi, Nicole Willems, and Bailey Wong made key contributions to this report. Alana Miller and Danielle Rudstein provided technical assistance.		

GAO's Mission	The Government Accountability Office, the audit, evaluation, and investigative arm of Congress, exists to support Congress in meeting its constitutional responsibilities and to help improve the performance and accountability of the federal government for the American people. GAO examines the use of public funds; evaluates federal programs and policies; and provides analyses, recommendations, and other assistance to help Congress make informed oversight, policy, and funding decisions. GAO's commitment to good government is reflected in its core values of accountability, integrity, and reliability.			
Obtaining Copies of GAO Reports and Testimony	The fastest and easiest way to obtain copies of GAO documents at no cost is through our website. Each weekday afternoon, GAO posts on its website newly released reports, testimony, and correspondence. You can also subscribe to GAO's email updates to receive notification of newly posted products.			
Order by Phone	The price of each GAO publication reflects GAO's actual cost of production and distribution and depends on the number of pages in the publication and whether the publication is printed in color or black and white. Pricing and ordering information is posted on GAO's website, https://www.gao.gov/ordering.htm.			
	Place orders by calling (202) 512-6000, toll free (866) 801-7077, or TDD (202) 512-2537.			
	Orders may be paid for using American Express, Discover Card, MasterCard, Visa, check, or money order. Call for additional information.			
Connect with GAO	Connect with GAO on Facebook, Flickr, Twitter, and YouTube. Subscribe to our RSS Feeds or Email Updates. Listen to our Podcasts. Visit GAO on the web at https://www.gao.gov.			
To Report Fraud,	Contact FraudNet:			
Waste, and Abuse in	Website: https://www.gao.gov/fraudnet/fraudnet.htm			
Federal Programs	Automated answering system: (800) 424-5454 or (202) 512-7700			
Congressional Relations	Orice Williams Brown, Managing Director, WilliamsO@gao.gov, (202) 512-4400, U.S. Government Accountability Office, 441 G Street NW, Room 7125, Washington, DC 20548			
Public Affairs	Chuck Young, Managing Director, youngc1@gao.gov, (202) 512-4800 U.S. Government Accountability Office, 441 G Street NW, Room 7149 Washington, DC 20548			
Strategic Planning and External Liaison	James-Christian Blockwood, Managing Director, spel@gao.gov, (202) 512-4707 U.S. Government Accountability Office, 441 G Street NW, Room 7814, Washington, DC 20548			



Exhibit 17



1	SENATOR PAUL: that the department	1	liberty hand in hand, not at odds with each
2	and its components engage in. In other words, we	2	other.
3	do so much stuff and we're so big we can't	3	Today we gather to consider the
4	describe it for you. But if we can't describe	4	nomination of Governor Kristi Noem to serve as
5	what we have, we got a problem. In plain	5	the Secretary of Department of Homeland Security.
6	language, the DHS had really no idea. Think	6	I hope this hearing will set the tone for this
7	about it. An agency commanding over \$110 billion	7	committee's work in the new Congress to restore
8	annually can't account for its own activities.	8	transparency and accountability to an executive
9	This is not just bureaucratic incompetence, it's	9	branch that has grown unchecked. Governor Noem,
10	emblematic of a deeper issue, an agency unsure of	10	if confirmed, you will lead an agency that has
11	its own boundaries and commitments. How can an	11	lost its way. Your record as governor of South
12	agency fulfill its mission or earn the American	12	Dakota and a former member of Congress
13	people's trust if it doesn't even know the extent	13	demonstrates your willingness to make difficult
14	of its own operations?	14	decisions in the face of significant political
15	But the problems don't stop there.	15	pressure, and to put the interest of American
16	Instead of focusing on critical threats like	16	people first. You have the opportunity today to
17	securing the southwest border, DHS has shifted	17	address how your background and vision will
18	its gaze inward, targeting law-abiding Americans.	18	translate to leading one of the most critical and
19	DHS, under the Biden administration, has often	19	scrutinized departments in the federal
20	used its vast powers to target Americans	20	government.
21	exercising their constitutional rights. It's	21	This is the first of many consequential
22	become an agency more focused on policing speech,	22	moments for this committee as we renew our
23	monitoring social media, and labeling political	23	commitment to the constitutional oversight role
24	dissent as "domestic terrorism" than addressing	24	that Congress must assert. I have no doubt that
25	genuine security threats. While cartels traffic	25	the nominee we'll consider in the coming weeks
	Page 2		Page 4
1	people and fentanyl across an unguarded border,	1	and months that you will be up for the challenge.
2	DHS has spent its time and resources creating	2	Governor Noem, thank you for your willingness to
1 2	montions disinformation bounds aming an	2	course and I wield to the Donling Member for his

- 3 partisan disinformation boards, spying on
- 4 Americans through invasive surveillance
- 5 technologies. The mission drift is dangerous.
- 6 Every dollar spent monitoring law-abiding
- 7 citizens is a dollar not spent securing the
- 8 homeland. Every moment spent targeting political
- 9 opponents is a moment not addressing real threats
- 10 like border security, cyber-attacks, or the
- 11 rising influence of adversarial nation states.
- 12 The priorities of DHS have been deeply distorted,
- 13 and the American people are paying the price.
- And what about DHS's response to COVID-
- 15 19, arguably one of the greatest threats to
- 16 homeland security? The answer is clear:
- 17 nothing. They knew nothing of the origins, they
- 18 didn't study the issue, and they had no
- 19 information about gain-of-function research.
- 20 We've seen firsthand how unchecked government
- 21 overreach leads to waste, fraud, and abuse. We
- 22 cannot let DHS become yet another agency that
- 23 operates behind a veil of secrecy. The American
- 24 people deserve transparency, accountability, and
- 25 leadership that puts national security and

- 3 serve, and I yield to the Ranking Member for his
- 4 opening remarks.
- 5 SENATOR PETERS: Thank you, Chairman
- 6 Paul. Governor Noem, it's great to see you here
- 7 today, and I want to first thank you for making
- 8 yourself available not only to the entire
- 9 committee, but to the discussions that we had in
- 10 my office. Going perhaps a little more in-depth
- 11 on the issues than is possible in a hearing like
- 12 this and having that open and frank conversation
- 13 is something that I appreciate. Also appreciate
- 14 your willingness to spend time with committee
- 15 staff as we conduct our due diligence and review
- 16 of your qualifications and the background to
- 17 serve as secretary of the Department of Homeland
- 18 Security.
- 19 As our third-largest federal agency,
- 20 with more than 240,000 employees and an operating
- 21 budget of more than \$100 billion, the Department
- 22 of Homeland Security requires strong, stable, and
- 23 principled leadership. Our nation faces serious
- 24 threats and security challenges, from securing
- 25 our borders and combating terrorism to preventing

- 1 cyber-attacks and responding to our nation's
- 2 increasing number of natural disasters, and DHS
- 3 is the first line of defense in all of those
- 4 areas. I appreciated the conversations we had at
- 5 today's hearing, where we discussed the
- 6 importance of ensuring that our nation's borders
- 7 are safe and secure. And while we must address
- 8 the significant challenges we face on the
- 9 southern border, we also need to ensure that
- 10 there are sufficient resources to secure our
- 11 northern border, something I know you're very
- 12 familiar with as the governor of your state,
- 13 including building out our Northern Border
- 14 Mission Center.
- This is especially important in my home to state of Michigan, which has two of the nation's
- 17 busiest border crossings, and we're going to be
- 18 adding another span shortly, the Gordie Howe
- 19 International Bridge, which will open later this
- 20 year. To facilitate the lawful trade and travel
- 21 out those ports of entry that are absolutely
- 22 critical to our economy, I've worked on
- 23 legislation to hire additional U.S. Customs and
- 24 Border Protection officers to meet increased
- 25 staffing demands. We must secure our borders,
 - 1 1150

- 1 companies. There's no question that DHS must
- 2 continue to lead the way in protecting our
- 3 networks from foreign adversaries, cyber
- 4 criminals, and so-called "hacktivists" to prevent
- 5 cyber-attacks from becoming increasingly
- 6 devastating to our security as well as to our
- 7 economy.
- And finally, the Department of Federal
- 9 Emergency Management Agency must continue to work
- 10 hard to address the increasing number of natural
- 11 disasters affecting our communities as a result
- 12 of climate change. From violent storms like
- 13 hurricanes that brought destruction to states
- 14 across the South, to the devastating wildfires in
- 15 California, and countless other severe storms and
- 16 flooding events all across our country, we need
- $17\,$ leadership at the department that will ensure our
- 18 nation effectively responds to communities when
- 19 disaster strikes them.
- 20 The safety and security of our nation
- 21 and the American people depend on the
- 22 department's ability to effectively address these
- 23 wide-ranging threats. So, Governor Noem, thank
- 24 you again for your willingness to serve in this
- 25 incredibly important position, and thank you for

- 1 but we also know it is well time passed to
- 2 streamline our immigration and our asylum process
- 3 as well.
- 4 In addition to border security, DHS is
- 5 responsible for addressing many threats that face
- 6 our nation. Just a few weeks ago, unfortunately,
- 7 Americans were shocked to see two horrific
- 8 incidents in New Orleans and Las Vegas, a deadly
- 9 reminder that terrorism and radicalization remain
- 10 very real and ongoing threats to our homeland.
- 11 In my role on this committee, I've made combating
- 12 foreign and domestic terrorism, as well as
- 13 extremism, a top priority. In this complex
- 14 environment, it is essential that DHS continue to
- 15 focus on all terrorism threats, track, and report
- 16 data to Congress and to the American people, and
- 17 coordinate between all components to ensure the
- 18 department is effectively addressing all types of
- 19 terrorist threats.
- We've also seen that persistent cyber-
- 21 attacks are still a very serious threat. In
- 22 fact, an increasing threat. A recent attack from
- 23 Chinese-based hackers infiltrated the Treasury
- 24 Department, on top of ongoing Salt Typhoon hack
- 25 that comprised numerous U.S. telecommunications

- 1 being here today. I look forward to having a
- 2 comprehensive discussion about how you intend to
- 3 lead this critical department through a series of 4 national security challenges, if indeed you are
- 5 confirmed.
- 6 SENATOR PAUL: This morning, Governor
- 7 Noem will be introduced by Majority Leader John
- 8 Thune and Senator Kevin Cramer. Senator Thune,
- 9 you're recognized.
- 10 SENATOR THUNE: Thank you, Mr.
- 11 Chairman, and Ranking Member Peters, and members
- 12 of the committee. I'm very pleased to be able to
- 13 be here today to introduce South Dakota's
- 14 outstanding governor who has been nominated by
- 15 President Trump to serve as the Secretary of the
- 16 Department of Homeland Security. I've known
- 17 Kristi Noem for a long time. She has a very
- 18 compelling personal and family story, which
- 19 inspired her entrance into the public arena, and
- 20 I'm sure you'll hear a little bit more about that
- 21 from her. But I've observed as she has gone
- 22 through the state legislature as a leader there,
- 23 state House of Representatives, the U.S. House of 24 Representatives, where she was our only member
- 25 from South Dakota representing our state's

Page 9

- 1 interests there for eight years, and now
- 2 currently as South Dakota's governor, and I think
- 3 she brings to this job a number of things that
- 4 are going to be really essential.
- 5 And one is obviously a skill set when
- 6 it comes to managing hard problems. She led our
- 7 state through the pandemic, managed what were
- 8 extraordinary circumstances all across this
- 9 country in a way that made South Dakota, frankly,
- 10 a magnet for people from other states who were
- 11 trying to flee or get away from some of the
- 12 heavy-handed requirements that were imposed in
- 13 other states around the country. Our state
- 14 stayed open, stayed free, and that was largely
- 15 due to her leadership.
- And I would say too, as we tackle what
- 17 is an enormously complicated and hard issue,
- 18 which is our southern border, it's going to
- 19 require a skill set which I believe she
- 20 possesses, it's going to require a tremendous
- 21 amount of persistence and determination, which I
- 22 think she has, an enormous amount of energy,
- 23 which she has in abundance. And frankly, what I
- 24 would say is just absolute toughness. It's going
- 25 to take some tough and hard leadership to get Page 10

3 SENATOR PAUL: Senator Cramer?

1 of the Department of Homeland Security. Thank

- 4 SENATOR CRAMER: Thank you, Chairman
- 5 Paul, Ranking Member Peters, colleagues. Once
- 6 again, I find myself in full agreement with the
- 7 majority leader. It's a good place to be in our
- 8 business.

2 you, Mr. Chairman.

- 9 So, this is a very special opportunity
- 10 for me, and first thing I want to do is thank
- 11 nearly all of you. I got into almost every one
- 12 of your offices with Kristi as her very
- 13 amateurish sitting Senator Sherpa. And the
- 14 blessing for me was not only to be with my good
- 15 friend and former colleague, but to learn a lot
- 16 about this committee that I'm not on and to get
- 17 an inside view. And Gary, especially learning
- 18 how we can work together at the northern border
- 19 and how similar, although very different,
- 20 Michigan and North Dakota are. So, thank you for
- 21 your hospitality, you were all very kind to
- 22 Kristi and to me.
- But Kristi is a former colleague. When
- 24 you're the only member of a body of 435 from an
- 25 entire state, it's really important to have

Page 12

1 things back in order.

- 2 And I want to refer to something she
- 3 said in her state of the state address earlier
- 4 this week to South Dakotans, and that is that
- 5 "Over the past four years, we've seen a complete
- 6 disregard for the security of our borders and the
- 7 safety of the American people, to say nothing for
- 8 the rule of law. Chaos at our southern border
- 9 and the Biden administration has left our country
- 10 vulnerable to a whole host of security concerns,
- 11 from terrorist entries to cross-border criminal
- 12 activity like drug trafficking." I think it's 13 well documented, and I think it's high time that
- 14 it gets fixed, and we have somebody nominated by
- 15 the President that I believe has the
- 16 capabilities, the qualities, the experience, and
- 17 again, frankly, the determination and toughness
- 18 to solve what is a very, very tough issue, and
- 19 one which is desperately in need of solutions.
- 20 So, I'm pleased to be able to be here
- 21 today to introduce our great governor and to
- 22 thank you for your consideration. I look forward
- 23 to this committee acting on her nomination, and I
- 24 look forward to voting for her on the floor of
- 25 the United States Senate to be the next Secretary

- 1 friends. So, together, Kristi and I were two,
- 2 two out of 435, and if we could get Montana,3 Wyoming, and Alaska, there'd be five of us that
- 4 could take on the fight. But I know this. I
- 5 remember our very first year, my first year, it
- 6 was not hers, my first year in the House, the
- 7 unthinkable happened, and the House of
- 8 Representatives failed to pass a farm bill. And
- 9 all I can tell you was the least secure homeland
- 10 person in America was the Speaker of the House
- 11 and the Majority Leader the next day, when Kristi
- 12 and I doubled up, and eventually we got a farm
- 13 bill done.
- 14 I say that because we are living at a
- 15 time, and Senator Peters, you used the words
- 16 "strong, stable, and principled". I can't think
- 17 of three better words to describe Kristi Noem
- 18 than those three words. I would add this. I'm
- 19 not surprised that President Trump turned to
- 20 Governor Noem. Securing the homeland is the
- 21 number one priority, our number one priority, our
- 22 number one constitutional priority, as a
- 23 Congress. And it is for sure the number one
- 24 priority of the voters in the last election. And
- 25 it is the number one priority for President

Page 13

1 to support her and turn it over to her. 1 Donald Trump. So, naturally he would say, "Hmm, 2 who is the toughest, smartest, most capable 2 3 protector that I know? I think I'd like to find 3 great introductions. The committee has also 4 received several statements in support of 4 a ranch woman, mom, grandmother, who knows how to 5 protect her own." And when you grow up on a 5 Governor Noem's nomination, including a letter 6 from 22 fellow governors, the International 6 ranch in the prairies or the West, nobody else is 7 Association of Firefighters, and six other 7 going to look out for your critters. No one else 8 organizations. Without objection, these letters 8 is protecting your family. You do it. 9 of support will be made part of the hearing And she brings this skill set, as 10 Senator Thune said, as a leader, as a legislator, 10 record. And I know our Senators are going to 11 have to go but thank you for coming and doing 11 as a member of Congress, as a governor, a very 12 those introductions. 12 important... By the way, when I get into the room 13 with other governors, Senator Hassan, I might as 13 14 swear in the witnesses. Governor Noem, please 14 well have just left, because I was not part of a 15 stand and raise your right hand. Do you swear 15 club where I don't belong. But anyway, it was 16 very, very rich, because there's an alliance 17 there that's really, really important. And so, 18 for me, it's just a really special opportunity to 19 be able to be here with her and to have had this 20 time in your offices introducing her to you. But I want to wrap up with this,

22 because last night I received a very touching 23 letter, unsolicited by either Kristi or me, from 24 the tribal chairwoman from the Standing Rock 25 Sioux Tribe, which straddles North Dakota and 1 South Dakota. They don't really care who wins 2 the South Dakota State/North Dakota State 3 football game, but they do care about their 4 reservation. And Chairwoman Alkire sent me this 5 letter. Standing Rock is the home of Sitting

7 credentials of their ability to protect the

12 South Dakota State Capitol to enter into

22 and what words like tribal sovereignty,

23 jurisdiction, and consultation mean to the

I'll just read a few words. "On

8 homeland.

Page 14 6 Bull in case you were wondering about the 10 multiple occasions, Governor Noem has invited the 11 Standing Rock Sioux Tribe to her table at the 13 meaningful discussions." That's what I witnessed 14 when she came to your offices. And Janet writes, 15 "It is of great excitement and enthusiasm that 16 our North Dakota Governor Doug Burgum will be at 17 the helm of the Department of Interior, and my 18 hopes remain high that you will feel the same 19 about Governor Kristi Noem at the helm of the 20 Department of Homeland Security. These two 21 governors understand the needs in Indian country, 24 Indigenous people." Speaks volumes to her 25 leadership and to her character. It's my honor Page 15

16 that the testimony you will give before this 17 committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and 18 nothing but the truth, so help you God? 19 GOVERNOR NOEM: I will. 20 SENATOR PAUL: Governor Noem, you are 21 now recognized for your opening statement. 22 GOVERNOR NOEM: Thank you, and good 23 morning, Chairman Paul, Ranking Member Peters, 24 and the distinguished members of this committee. 25 I'm honored to appear before all of you today as Page 16 1 the nominee for the Secretary of Homeland 2 Security. I want to thank President-elect Donald 3 J. Trump for his confidence in my leadership, and 4 the people of South Dakota for their fantastic 5 support throughout my time in public service. I 6 would also like to express my sincere gratitude 7 to Senator Cramer. He has been an invaluable 8 resource to me throughout this process, and given 9 me much wisdom, as well as insight, into the 10 thoughts and the procedures of the Senate and 11 this body. And I'd also like to express my 12 gratitude to Senator Thune, the Majority Leader 13 of this esteemed body. He's been an advisor to 14 me for many years, as well as a friend, and I'm 15 so grateful for the generous support of these two 16 men and their willingness to be here this morning 17 to speak on my behalf, and to introduce me to 18 this committee. Now, I'm a wife and a mother and a 20 grandmother; a farmer, rancher, businessperson. 21 I've served in our state legislature, in Congress 22 for eight years, and also a governor. I've spent 23 my entire life in rural America. I understand 24 what it means to work hard every single day, and 25 to build a better future for your kids and for

SENATOR PAUL: Thank you for those

It's the practice of this committee to

1 all of our communities. I come before you today 1 leading the Department of Homeland Security. 2 with a deep sense of responsibility and a 2 As we face the evolving threats of the 3 humility, as the nominee, to lead the Department 3 21st century, the mission and the success of DHS 4 of Homeland Security, and also a commitment to 4 is more critical than ever. We must be vigilant 5 the more than 330 Americans who we will work 5 and proactive and innovative to protect the 6 together to help serve and to keep safe and 6 homeland. The challenges in front of us are 7 secure in their homes and in their communities. 7 extremely significant, and we must secure our Now, before I proceed, I want to 8 borders against illegal trafficking and 9 introduce to you my husband, Bryon, who's here 9 immigration. We must safeguard our critical 10 with me today. He is my constant 24/7 reminder 10 infrastructure to make sure that we're protected 11 of our dedication to public service, and that 11 against cyber-attacks, respond to natural 12 it's not a solo effort or done alone. He has 12 disasters, and also terrorism. I firmly believe 13 been a rock by my side, and I appreciate all of 13 that we can meet those challenges head on with 14 his love over so many years. I'm grateful that 14 resolve. Innovation, we can use collaboration 15 he's here with me today. 15 with federal and with state partners. And 16 Now, securing our homeland is a 16 Senators, I want your input. Border security 17 serious, sacred trust that must be relentlessly 17 must remain a top priority. As a nation, we have 18 the right and the responsibility to secure our 18 pursued, and can never be taken for granted. 19 Being safe within our borders here in America is 19 borders against those who would do us harm, and 20 critical, and yet Americans feel less safe than 20 we must create a fair and a lawful immigration 21 they have felt in decades. For the first time in 21 system that is efficient, and is effective, and 22 30 years, more than 40 percent of Americans are 22 that reflects our values. 23 afraid to walk alone at night within a mile of 23 President Trump was elected with a 24 their homes. President-elect Trump is going to 24 clear mandate. He needs to achieve this mission, 25 change that. I've seen firsthand the challenges 25 because two-thirds of Americans support his Page 18 1 and the opportunities facing our great nation. 2 In the 20 years since the Department of Homeland 2 majority of Hispanic Americans. I was the first 3 Security was formed, the nature of the threats to

4 our homeland has grown and they've evolved. This

5 department was created in response to the

6 failures of the government that led to the

10

7 September 11th 2001 terrorist attacks, and that

8 reality is not lost on me, especially in the wake

9 of the recent terrorist attacks over New Year's.

Now, I've led South Dakota for the last 11 six years, with a focus every day on making our

12 state safer, stronger, and freer. I've focused

13 every day on making the best decisions, not just

14 for right now, but for generations to come. I've

15 overseen a state budget of over \$7 billion, and a

16 state employee workforce of more than 13,000,

17 including more than 7,000 that report directly to

18 the governor. I've addressed important issues

19 like cyber security, human trafficking, drug

20 interdiction, and also natural disasters, the

21 same challenges that are facing so many of you

22 and the people that you represent back home.

23 I've secured our state and supported the rule of

24 law, and if confirmed as the eighth secretary,

25 that is the same approach that I will take to

1 immigration and border policies, including the

3 governor to send National Guard troops to our

4 southern border when Texas asked for help and

5 when they were being overwhelmed by an

6 unprecedented border crisis. If confirmed as

7 secretary, I'll ensure that our exceptional,

8 extraordinary Border Patrol agents have all the

9 tools and resources and support that they need to

10 carry out their mission effectively. The same is

11 true of my commitment to the outstanding men and

12 women of the U.S. Immigration and Customs

13 Enforcement. They are responsible for

14 apprehending, detaining, and deporting illegal

15 immigrants, and getting criminal aliens off of

16 our streets and out of the country will help

17 American communities be safer again. The bravery

18 and the dedication of the Border Patrol and ICE

19 are unmatched, and I will restore dignity to

20 their work. The rising threat of cyberattacks

21 also demands our utmost attention, and our

22 critical infrastructure, from energy grids to

23 financial institutions, is under constant attack

24 by foreign adversaries and criminal actors. As

25 secretary, I will prioritize a comprehensive,

Page 21

Page 20

- 1 whole-of-government approach to cybersecurity.
- 2 In fact, in the coming days, we have to plan
- 3 bigger and think faster and smarter. I fully
- 4 acknowledge that people in Washington D.C. do not
- 5 have all of the answers, and therefore, I will
- 6 leverage private-public partnerships, I'll
- 7 advance cutting-edge, state-of-the-art
- 8 technologies to protect our nation's digital
- 9 landscape, and I will have a proven track record
- 10 of doing this in South Dakota to back me up.
- 11 I've helped make Dakota State University a global
- 12 leader in cybersecurity education, because we
- 13 recognize the need to address this emerging
- 14 threat. And I will take a proactive approach if
- 15 given the opportunity to serve as secretary.
- 16 Now, President-elect Trump has been a tremendous
- 17 friend to law enforcement over the years, and I
- 18 will do the same in my role as secretary. As
- 19 governor, I've worked closely with law
- 20 enforcement to make South Dakota safer. I've
- 21 overseen hundreds of state troopers in the South
- 22 Dakota Highway Patrol, and on several occasions,
- 23 I've convened groups of law enforcement from
- 24 across our state to address policies that will
- 25 make our people safer. In fact, while some in
 - Page 22

- 1 homeland security isn't just about prevention,
- 2 but it's also about resilience. When disasters
- 3 strike, as we know they will, the Department of
- 4 Homeland Security must be ready to respond
- 5 swiftly, efficiently, and effectively to protect
- 6 the lives and the property of Americans. As
- 7 governor, I've worked with FEMA in response to a
- 8 dozen natural disasters in South Dakota. These
- 9 have included historic floods, tornadoes,
- 10 blizzards, wildfires, a derecho, and even a
- 11 global pandemic. As secretary, I will enhance
- 12 our emergency preparedness and strengthen FEMA's
- 13 capabilities, and we will ensure that no
- 14 community is left behind, and that life-saving
- 15 services, like electricity and water, are quickly
- 16 restored.
- 17 As secretary, I will oversee the Secret
- 18 Service, an agency that is in serious need of
- 19 reforms. We all saw the threats to President-
- 20 elect Trump last year and the consequences of
- 21 failure. Now, that should never happen again,
- 22 and I've worked closely with my own gubernatorial
- 23 protective detail, and I'm familiar with what
- 24 works and what doesn't work, and I'll bring that
- 25 experience towards strengthening the Secret

- 1 this country were attacking law enforcement and
- 2 defunding them, we took the opposite approach in
- 3 South Dakota. We recruited law enforcement
- 4 officers to move to South Dakota, a state that
- 5 respects their service and their sacrifice, and
- 6 we revamped our law enforcement training to 7 provide the first ever state-led tribal-focused
- 8 law enforcement training academy. I'm very proud
- 9 of the work that we've done in cooperation with
- 10 our tribes to help make their communities more
- 11 safe.
- 12 And we must remain vigilant against
- 13 terrorism and against others who wish to do us
- 14 harm to our country and to our great people.
- 15 I'll ensure that our intelligence and our law
- 16 enforcement agencies are working together hand-
- 17 in-hand, that they're fully equipped to detect,
- 18 prevent, and respond to threats from radical
- 19 ideologies and foreign adversaries. This
- 20 requires resources, coordination, and
- 21 collaboration across all levels of government.
- 22 And once again, I will seek your wisdom, and I 23 will seek your input into the months ahead. For
- 24 the sake of the people that we both represent, we
- 25 have to get this right. Now, I recognize that
- Page 23

- 1 Service once again.
- 2 I'm committed to working with this
- 3 committee, with Congress, and with the dedicated
- 4 men and women of the Department of Homeland
- 5 Security to fulfill our mission. And together,
- 6 we can ensure that the United States remains a
- 7 beacon of freedom, safety, and security for
- 8 generations to come. So, thank you for the
- 9 opportunity and the honor to appear before you
- 10 today. Thank you for the meetings and the time
- 11 that you took in your office to discuss the
- 12 department and what we can do in the future to
- 13 make the American homeland much more secure. I
- 14 look forward to your questions, and I hope to
- 15 earn your trust, and hopefully also your vote, as
- 16 we embark on this critical work together. With
- 17 that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.
- 18 SENATOR PAUL: Thank you, Governor
- 19 Noem. We will now proceed to questions. Each
- 20 member will have seven minutes. We will have a
- 21 vote that will start at 10:00 a.m., but we're
- 22 going to continue the hearing and keep people in
- 23 line; as you come and go to vote, we'll keep the 24 hearing moving. I want to be clear from the
- 25 outset that we will not tolerate any disruptions.

- 1 The Capitol Police have been asked to escort
- 2 anyone immediately from the room if they disrupt
- 3 the hearing.
- 4 This is a standard question, Governor
- 5 Noem, that we ask of all nominees. Governor
- 6 Noem, do you agree without reservation to comply
- 7 with any request or summons to appear and testify
- 8 before any duly constituted Committee of Congress
- 9 if you are confirmed?
- 10 GOVERNOR NOEM: Yes, Mr. Chairman,
- 11 SENATOR PAUL: I'm going to reserve the
- 12 rest of my time for my questions and go to
- 13 Senator Peters.
- 14 SENATOR PETERS: Thank you, Mr.
- 15 Chairman. Governor Noem, the DHS Secretary, has
- 16 many competing priorities, as you well know, and
- 17 you outlined, certainly, in your opening
- 18 comments, from our borders to wildfires to cyber-
- 19 attacks. But as you and I discussed at length,
- 20 and I appreciate you bringing it up in your
- 21 opening comments as well, we do have a northern
- 22 border in addition to a southern border, that's
- 23 absolutely essential that the DHS has the
- 24 resources necessary at the northern border to
- 25 carry out its mission, both between ports of
- Page 26

- 1 addressing all threats that may come in from any
- 2 direction. And also, with the bridge as well and
- 3 staffing up on that, that as well, and I've
- 4 assured Senator Slotkin as well that our focus is
- 5 there to make sure that it is staffed
- 6 appropriately.
- 7 SENATOR PETERS: Very good. And as we
- 8 discussed, the department is diligently working
- 9 to stand up the Northern Border Mission Center at
- 10 Selfridge Air National Guard Base in Michigan,
- 11 following the authorization and funding that I
- 12 was able to secure in the last Congress. This
- 13 center is critical to supporting the Department's
- 14 northern border security missions and addressing
- 15 evolving threats. So, quick question: if
- 16 confirmed, do you commit to working with me to
- 17 fully build out the Northern Border Mission
- 18 Center?
- 19 GOVERNOR NOEM: Yes, Senator, we will
- 20 look forward, and I look forward, to working with
- 21 you to ensure that that is a priority, and that
- 22 it's adequately resourced, and working with
- 23 Congress and Senators to make sure that we have
- 24 what we need to make sure that that mission for
- 25 that base is fully fulfilled.

- 1 entry and all along the border. In fact, we've
- 2 seen an increase in unauthorized crossings in
- 3 recent years at the northern border.
- 4 So, my question for you is, if 5 confirmed, do you commit to ensuring, along with
- 6 the southern border, that the northern border is
- 7 sufficiently staffed to maintain its security and
- 8 robust trade between the U.S. and its neighbors,
- 9 including at the Gordie Howe International Bridge
- $10\,$ in my home state of Michigan, have the resources
- 11 they need to facilitate trade, while keeping
- 12 Americans safe?
- 13 GOVERNOR NOEM: Yes, Senator Peters,
- 14 you and I talked about this in your office, and
- 15 also with Senator Slotkin as well, how important
- 16 it is to continue to remain focused on our
- 17 northern border, and all borders and ports of
- 18 entry that the United States has. I think
- 19 there's been some universal concern from some of
- 20 the committee members that as we focus on the
- 21 southern border and what we're seeing, as far as
- 22 the invasion there and the amount of people
- 23 crossing, that the northern border would lose
- 24 focus. But that will not happen, and we will
- 25 ensure that our borders are secure, and we're

- 1 SENATOR PETERS: Great. Thank you. On
- 2 New Year's, we witnessed two incidents that
- 3 reminded us that terrorism and extremism remain
- 4 serious threats to all Americans. Both DHS and
- 5 the FBI have consistently said that the most
- 6 persistent threat to the homeland is from U.S.-
- 7 based individuals or small groups radicalized by
- 8 a variety of ideologies, from white supremacy to
- 9 ISIS to al-Qaeda. We must certainly continue to
- 10 focus on people who are radicalized here in the
- 11 United States with the intent of terrorizing our
- 12 communities. So, my question for you, ma'am, is
- 13 how do you plan to address this threat of U.S.-
- 14 based terrorists?
- 15 GOVERNOR NOEM: Senator, this is a
- 16 grave concern for our country, as we all agree
- 17 that the number one threat to our homeland
- 18 security is the southern border. In fact, since
- 19 Joe Biden has been president, we've seen 382
- 20 individuals that have come over that border that
- 21 are on the terrorist watch list. I, behind me,
- 22 have the governor of Louisiana with me, and he
- 23 and his state and people in this country went
- $24\,$ through a horrific event on New Year's Day, and

25 one that we never want to see repeated again.

Page 29

- 1 But this governor behind me is concerned also
- 2 about an upcoming event, which is the Super Bowl,
- 3 coming shortly, which we need to do all that we
- 4 can to work together, that he has the reassurance
- 5 that the federal government, that the Department
- 6 of Homeland Security, is prepared to help him
- 7 protect that event, and to keep people safe while
- 8 they are there.
- Those 382 terrorists are known
- 10 terrorists that have come over our border. We
- 11 don't know necessarily where they are because of
- 12 what has been happening under Joe Biden's
- 13 policies. Now, President Trump obviously won the
- 14 last election with a clear mandate, and that
- 15 mandate is for the American people to secure that
- 16 border. But also, we need to focus on domestic
- 17 terrorism and homegrown terrorism, which you just
- 18 referenced in your question. Homegrown
- 19 GOVERNOR NOEM: Homegrown terrorism is
- 20 on the rise. We see more and more incidents of
- 21 people that are U.S. citizens that have become
- 22 radicalized. And knowing when people are leaving
- 23 the country and coming back and changes to their
- 24 behaviors and what their actions are is
- 25 critically important.

1

Page 30

- 1 infiltrated the Department of Treasury and stole
- 2 potentially thousands of unclassified documents.
- 3 So, given these concerning trends by the PRC to
- 4 hold our federal networks' hostage, do you
- 5 believe that federal agencies should be required
- 6 to implement cybersecurity upgrades and maintain
- 7 the highest cybersecurity standards to protect
- 8 sensitive or classified data and U.S. citizen
- 9 information as well?
- 10 GOVERNOR NOEM: Well, Senator, the
- 11 mission of CISA, which is the Cybersecurity and
- 12 Infrastructure Agency, the mission of it is to
- 13 hunt and harden. It's to find those bad actors
- 14 and help work with local and state
- 15 infrastructure, critical infrastructure entities
- 16 so that they can help them be prepared for such
- 17 cyber-attacks and that they can make sure that
- 18 they're hardening their systems to protect them
- 19 in the future, recognizing the vulnerabilities
- 20 that they have.
- 21 CISA has gotten far off mission.
- 22 They're using their resources in ways that was
- 23 never intended. The misinformation and
- 24 disinformation that they have stuck their toe
- 25 into and meddled with should be refocused back

Page 32

- So, the resources that the Department
- 2 of Homeland Security has needs to be utilized as
- 3 far as identifying those threats and being
- 4 proactive to prevent them but also protecting
- 5 civil rights and liberties in that process and
- 6 making sure that the department is on mission to
- 7 do what it was called to do, why it was created,
- 8 and what authorities that Congress and the Senate
- 9 has given them.
- 10 My hope is that Governor Landry and his
- 11 staff and his people and the people that attend
- 12 the Super Bowl know that the Department of
- 13 Homeland Security is their partner, is on watch
- 14 to protect them and to keep that event safe. I
- 15 hope all Americans know that leadership has
- 16 consequences. I hope that we can get through and
- 17 get your support for this nomination and get
- 18 confirmed quickly so that we can address the
- 19 threats that we currently face and make sure we
- 20 don't have any repeats of the day that we saw
- 21 just starting this year on New Year's Day.
- SENATOR PETERS: In the last two years,
- 23 we have seen increasingly aggressive and
- 24 expansive cyber-attacks against our federal
- 25 agencies. Just last month, Chinese hackers

- 1 onto what their job is, and that is to support 2 critical infrastructure and to help our local and
- 3 small businesses and critical infrastructure at
- 4 the state level to have the resources and be
- 5 prepared for those cyber-attacks that they will
- 6 face.
- Salt Typhoon was a campaign of 7
- 8 espionage by the PRC in China against our
- 9 telecoms where large amount of data was stolen
- 10 and taken, and people's private information was
- 11 taken as well. And we've also seen China and the
- 12 PRC go after our critical infrastructure with the
- 13 Volt Typhoon hack, and that was extremely
- 14 dangerous because there was no reason for them to
- 15 do that, just to steal people's data and
- 16 information.
- 17 The reason for them to go after that
- 18 was to control our critical infrastructure for
- 19 the ability to see if they could shut down a
- 20 water plant, a utility company. And that was to
- 21 cripple our country. So, these threats are real.
- 22 CISA needs to be much more effective, smaller,
- 23 more nimble to really fulfill their mission,
- 24 which is to hunt and to help harden our nation's
- 25 critical infrastructure.

	1	SENATOR PETERS: Thank you.	1	people there and being adequately staffed and
	2	GOVERNOR NOEM: Thank you.	2	resourced.
	3	SENATOR JOHNSON: Senator Scott.	3	But frankly, the leadership hasn't been
	4	SENATOR SCOTT: Governor,	4	honest about talking about it. We saw this with
	5	congratulations on your nomination.	5	the drones over New Jersey as well, the federal
	6	GOVERNOR NOEM: Thank you.	6	government not answering the questions from the
	7	SENATOR SCOTT: I think you're going to	7	public. And when they finally got a straight
	8	do a great job.	8	answer out of President Trump, they felt
	9	GOVERNOR NOEM: Thank you.	9	reassured that somebody recognized that this was
	10	SENATOR SCOTT: I think it's great that	10	something they were questioning and that they
	11	you're a governor and you bring that expertise to	11	deserved answers.
	12	the table. So, I just went through the campaign	12	My goal and my mission is to build
	13	to get reelected, and it was after the Butler	13	trust. We will undertake a large job and a large
	14	shooting. I had asked people at all my events.	14	duty that we have to fulfill, that the American
	15	I say, "Raise your hand if you think the acting	15	people expect us to do by securing our border to
	16	director of the Secret Service is going to tell	16	make sure that our nation is a nation with
	17	us what happened." Not one person. I said,	17	borders or we're no nation at all, and that we
	18	"What about Mayorkas? He's running HHS, what do	18	are making sure that those criminal actors that
		you think, or Homeland Security. What do you	19	are perpetuating violence in our communities and
	20	think?" I said, "How about Christopher Wray,	20	in our cities and towns and states are removed
	21	head of the FBI?" Not one person. Can you just	21	from this country, that there's consequences for
		talk about the importance of transparency and	22	breaking the law in our country again.
	23	accountability in government and how you're going	23	There has to be consequences because
	24	to bring that to the table?	24	when Americans break the law, there's
	25	GOVERNOR NOEM: Yeah. Senator, Scott,	25	consequences. And why would we ever allow
ļ		Page 34		Page
	1	thank you for that question because that's what I	1	someone to come in from another country and not
		have found across the country as well, and I know		have consequences or allow them to continue to go
	3	it's certainly true in my home state of South	3	forward and to commit rape and murders and other
-1				

- 4 Dakota, is that people don't trust the federal
- 5 government. They don't trust our leadership and
- 6 this current administration that's in the White
- 7 House right now to tell them the truth, to tell
- 8 them the truth about what the threats really are
- 9 about our agencies and departments when there are
- 10 failures, addressing them and fixing it.
- The Secret Service is one of those
- 12 perfect examples. They need leadership that
- 13 understands why that Secret Service was created
- 14 and what it needs to do. There's two elements
- 15 really that the Secret Service is tasked with,
- 16 and that is protective detail and then also
- 17 investigations. Yet we see investigators within
- 18 the Secret Service out there investigating
- 19 antiquities and other things that are off mission
- 20 when they should be focused on making sure we're
- 21 addressing national security events with the
- 22 protocols that are necessary and protecting the
- 23 individuals that they're charged with and getting
- 24 that skill set and training that are necessary.
- 25 That's been compromised by not having enough

4 break other laws that endanger our society? So,

5 we've had over 13,000 murders that are loose in

6 this country that have come over that border.

7 We've had almost 16,000 rapists and sexual

8 assault perpetuators that are loose in this

9 country right now. 425,000 plus people have

10 criminal convictions that are here illegally in

11 this country that our current administration's

12 doing nothing to round them up and get them out

13 of our country.

14 We will be doing that immediately, and

15 that will be the priority, and that is one of the

16 reasons that today the American people have lost

17 their trust. President Trump will build it back

18 and know that their federal government is

19 accountable to them and is working to put America

20 first again.

21 SENATOR SCOTT: So, Joe Biden

22 completely opened on our southern border and

23 dismantled our entire immigration system. As a

24 former governor, I know that when the federal

25 government policies are broken and failing

Page 37

Page 36

Page 35

1 Americans, you see the impacts in your state just 2 like I did when I was a governor, and you take 3 the steps necessary to protect the families in 4 your state. I know you've done that. One thing you did is you talked about 6 before you sent troops, our National Guard, to 7 the southern border. Can you talk more about how 8 Biden's open border policy has affected your 9 state and communities and the role your state 10 resources placed in helping secure the border? GOVERNOR NOEM: We certainly have seen 12 the effects in South Dakota that many of your 13 states did. And I would say every state has seen 14 the effects of an open border in the policies 15 that have been under the Biden administration. 16 We saw increased crime, but we also saw increased 17 drug activity. We saw cartel in their affiliates 18 moving into our state to proliferate trafficking, 19 and we saw people being victimized and a lack of 20 accountability with the federal government. 21 So, when Texas was addressing the 22 situation and asked other governors for help, we 23 sent help. I know many of the other governors at 24 the time were sending law enforcement, but I made 25 the decision that at that time that it was more Page 38

1 security operations. They also did building of 2 the wall and partnered with Texas recognizing the 3 failures of the federal government. 4 The failures of the federal government 5 are significant, and we've seen our families and 6 communities devastated by those effects, by the 7 drug epidemic, by the trafficking that's going 8 on. They increased crime. And we recognize that 9 just because the federal government wasn't doing 10 their job, we could not fail our state. And I 11 needed to protect the people of South Dakota. 12 And the people of South Dakota were 13 overwhelmingly supportive of these deployments 14 and very proud of our National Guard. 15 SENATOR SCOTT: When I was governor of 16 Florida, there was a terrorist hack in Paris by 17 Syrian refugees. So, President Obama was 18 president, and I said, "I'd like to know if 19 you're going to send refugees to my state that 20 you give us some background on them." I assume 21 you vetted them and tell us what's going on. You 22 have to tell me, but you ought to tell our state 23 law enforcement and our local law enforcement 24 that they said, "Go jump in the lake." 25 (Indiscernible) meaner than that, but they said, Page 40

1 appropriate to send the National Guard that our

- 2 National Guard could be activated under Title 32
- 3 and sent to assist another state from the
- 4 invasion that was happening and because the
- 5 National Guard is trained for just such a

6 mission.

7 Because of this invasion, that it is a 8 war zone down there with what they are going to 9 see, the threats that they would see and that

10 they are trained specifically to interact with

11 other agencies, the National Guard is used to

12 falling in with other agencies and cooperating

13 with them and could do that seamlessly, and their

14 families and their communities are normalized to

15 them being deployed.

16 So, we have in South Dakota deployed 17 our National Guard to the southern border eight

18 different times. Two of them were federal

19 deployments that the Biden administration sent

20 them down there. One was to send our Lakota

21 helicopters, which were used for surveillance in

22 the drug interdiction that was going on down

23 there. But six other times, I sent them under

24 state activation to partner with Texas and other

25 states in securing our southern border. They did

Page 39

- 1 "You have no rights as a governor," which had
- 2 made no sense. We had over 70,000 people come
- 3 here after Afghanistan on planes into this
- 4 country completely unvetted. They've never given
- 5 our governors any information. So, would you
- 6 change that?
- GOVERNOR NOEM: Yes. The communication
- 8 between states and the federal government has
- 9 been absolutely broken, and that's what I love
- 10 about this committee, is you do have governors
- 11 sitting on this committee that have been in that
- 12 role as a commander in chief and have the
- 13 responsibility for being the CEOs of their state.

14 It's a different perspective than

15 serving. I served in Congress too, and both are

16 extremely important, and they're just different

17 in that responsibility that weighs on your

18 shoulder. I often told folks that that is the

- 19 thing that most times if something was going to
- 20 keep me up at night, it was the responsibility
- 21 that I had being commander in chief, recognizing
- 22 the decisions that I made. And I'm sure you had
- 23 this feeling as well, Senator Scott, as governor,
- 24 that impacted those families, those soldiers.
- 25 And it impacted their communities when we pulled

1 them out and the importance of that. 1 at the northern border recently, law enforcement And when they were bringing refugees 2 told me about the need for more personnel and 3 into the country, I as well communicated that to 3 resources. We still don't have cell phone 4 the federal government. They were bringing 4 coverage in a lot of the stretch of our northern 5 refugees, and I asked how they were vetted, how 5 border. I've worked with Senator Kramer on 6 we were working with their home countries to find 6 bipartisan legislation to strengthen our northern 7 out who they really were, what their intentions 7 border strategy because it's clear more support 8 is needed. So, Governor, if you're confirmed, 8 were and why they were coming to the United 9 States and received no information from this 9 would you deploy additional full-time personnel 10 administration that that vetting process was 10 and upgrade equipment along the northern border? 11 being done, that we knew where they're going. GOVERNOR NOEM: Senator, I enjoyed our 11 12 In fact, they kept us in the dark and 12 meeting that we had and you identifying the 13 northern border issues that are going on, the 13 didn't communicate to us even what states and 14 where those refugees were being placed. So, that 14 lack of security and the lack of technologies 15 is something that we need to change when we have 15 that you really need to cover, some of the 16 programs that fall under the purview of the 16 landscapes that are there very different than the 17 Department of Homeland Security. There needs to 17 southern border, some just as equally challenging 18 be communication, especially with the governor, 18 but all need to be addressed. 19 so that we can coordinate to ensure that it's the 19 So, I definitely will be working with 20 right thing for that state. 20 you to ensure that our northern border is 21 SENATOR SCOTT: Thank you. 21 adequately resourced as well, and we do have to 22 SENATOR JOHNSON: Senator Hassan. 22 have the resources in order to be successful. 23 SENATOR HASSAN: Thank you, Mr. Chair. 23 SENATOR HASSAN: Right. 24 And welcome, Governor Noem. I really appreciate 24 GOVERNOR NOEM: That's something I want 25 you being here. Welcome to your family as well. 25 to work with Congress, with the Senate and the Page 42 Page 44 1 GOVERNOR NOEM: Thank you. 1 House on to ensure that the resources are there SENATOR HASSAN: And families do share 2 2 to meet the challenges that we have. We have not 3 in this kind of public service, and we appreciate 3 fully utilized the technologies that are 4 them very much. As we discussed at our meeting 4 available that are necessary to really secure 5 last month, as a former governor, I appreciate 5 this country and to compete with those bad actors 6 which wish to infiltrate our country and having 6 the important responsibilities that governors 7 have to ensure the safety and security of their 7 the ability to utilize them will make us much 8 communities, including by managing public safety 8 more safe. So, I'll work with you most 9 and emergency agencies. 9 definitely ensuring the northern border is 10 And I will say that, in many ways, I 10 protected. 11 agree with some of the things that Senator Scott 11 SENATOR HASSAN: Well, I appreciate 12 just said about improving communication between 12 that, and I just note too that at the same time, 13 the Department of Homeland Security and governors 13 there's real concern in New Hampshire and all 14 around who is being sent to states. It's a 14 along the northern border that we strengthen the 15 critical issue and something that I was 15 border and have the resources we need. We also 16 frustrated by when I was governor. So, I look 16 have a really strong economic relationship with 17 our friends to the north and a lot of family 17 forward to hearing more today about your 18 priorities if confirmed about how your experience 18 relationships. 19 as governor would help you run the Department of 19 So, I think it's important that we're 20 Homeland Security. 20 smart in the deployment of technology. We don't Let me just start by following up with 21 want to impede that flow of economy and people 22 a question that Senator Peters had also touched 22 that's lawful, but we do want to make sure that 23 on. We have recently, in New Hampshire, seen a 23 we have the resources we need. I want to turn to

Page 45

Page 43

25

24 the southern border now.

24 dramatic increase in unauthorized border

25 crossings at the northern border. And when I was

1	At the southern border, we need	1	attack on power school, a cloud-based record
2	significant technological investments to support		management system that contains personal
	law enforcement personnel in their efforts to		information about tens of millions of
	catch fentanyl smugglers to stop human		kindergartners through high school seniors,
	traffickers and seize the cash and illegal guns		including many students and teachers in New
	that criminals traffic southward to the cartels.		Hampshire.
	And we talked about this a little bit.	7	This cyber-attack on power school comes
8	There's bipartisan support for these	8	•
9			country have seen a surge in cyber-attacks on
	including Senators Lankford and Cornyn on		their systems. And when a small of maybe a
	legislation around these issues. Governor Noem,		thousand students or so has to pay \$2 million in
	could you identify specific technological		ransom, I want you to think about what that does
	investments that you would make at the southern		to one of our small communities. Right? So,
	border and are you willing to work with me on		Governor Noem, if you're confirmed, how will you
	increasing southbound inspections if you're		empower the cybersecurity and infrastructure
	confirmed?		security agency to improve the cybersecurity of
17	GOVERNOR NOEM: Yes. Certainly,	17	
	Senator. You've heard President Trump talk about	18	GOVERNOR NOEM: Well, thank you,
	the need to build a wall. And the wall and		Senator. If I am confirmed and have the
1	infrastructure is critically important. But	20	
	also, at our 382 legal ports of entry, we need to	21	department, I'll be following the constitution
	have technology so that flow can happen north and	22	-
	south, and it can happen in a legal manner to		departments back on mission to why they were
	ensure that our commerce can continue to operate,		created and why they are existing.
	and that we can continue to make sure that we're	25	What CISA should be doing is helping
	Page 46		Page 48
1	also secure.	1	those small entities, those schools, those local
2	I think de minimis shipments are a		city governments, the state governments, and the
3	concern and the need to look at those and how		small businesses that are critical infrastructure
4	traffickers and fentanyl distributors are using	4	that don't have the resources to stay on top of
5	that. I think we also need to use scanners		the critical protections that they need to enact.
6	surveillance operations. There's new	6	SENATOR HASSAN: Well, let me follow up
	technologies out there to cooperate with	7	just quickly on that one point. It's something
8	satellites in some area where the topography does	8	we discussed when we had our meeting. I worked
9	not necessarily facilitate having actual	9	with Senator Cornyn on a bipartisan bill. It
10	infrastructure and then also the ability to make	10	became law that created a cybersecurity grant
11	sure that we're utilizing that technology that	11	program for state and local governments. This is
12	allows us to know what is going south that might	12	an addition to each state getting a cyber
13	be fueling some of the violence that ends up	13	coordinator to help on the ground.
14	coming back north and ensuring that we're	14	We discussed this program, and I know
15	stopping that before it has the chance to supply		you as governor had some reservations about the
16	those cartel and bad actors that would come in.	16	structure of the program, but if confirmed, will

SENATOR HASSAN: Yeah. I really 18 appreciate that because the southbound flow,

19 particularly of cash and weapons, fuels the

20 cartels and strengthens them.

17

21 GOVERNOR NOEM: Absolutely.

SENATOR HASSAN: And it's something 22

23 that we really have to focus on. I also want to

24 follow up on the issue of cyber security.

25 Recently, criminals launched a successful cyber-

Page 47

16 structure of the program, but if confirmed, will 17 you commit to working with Congress to adjust it? 18 I'd love your input about what gave you pause as 19 governor. I think there were only two governors 20 who didn't participate in the program. And I 21 hope that as we work on the concerns you have, 22 you'd work with me to adjust and reauthorize the 23 program. 24 GOVERNOR NOEM: Yes. All grants within 25 the department will be evaluated when I come in Page 49

- 1 and be looked at to see what we can do to make
- 2 sure that they're actually fulfilling the mission
- 3 to which they were established. What I would say
- 4 about the cybersecurity grants in South Dakota,
- 5 when I came in as governor, one of my main
- 6 priorities was to bring the next industry into
- 7 the state. And I determined that that would be
- 8 technology and cybersecurity.
- 9 In fact, we have Dakota State
- 10 University in our state, which is a cybersecurity
- 11 national leader in training those cyber warriors
- 12 that we need to protect us and keep us safe.
- 13 I've since then partnered to grow and double the
- 14 size of that school. We train a lot of NSA
- 15 employees in South Dakota. And so, understanding
- 16 cybersecurity and my experience and that I think
- 17 is critically important to the department and
- 18 bringing it to the table to do this.
- 19 You talked about why we didn't take
- 20 that cybersecurity grant in South Dakota, and
- 21 it's because the requirements of that grant
- 22 would've caused me to grow my state government.
- 23 The administration costs of it would've been much
- 24 more than what it been able to facilitate at the
- 25 local level. And our state was already

3 delighted to see you willing to step up and
4 serve. Let me just ask you something. I
5 repeatedly asked your predecessor when he sat
6 where you're sitting, whether the southern border

1 Mayorkas has been an absolute disgrace to that 2 department and frankly to this country. And I'm

- 7 was secure. And he repeatedly told me under
- 8 oath, "It is secure, Senator." And he repeatedly
- 9 said under oath, "Our policies are working,
- 10 Senator," meaning the Biden administration
- 11 policies that, of course, gave us this
- 12 devastating open border. So, let me just ask
- 13 you, is the southern border secure as we find it 14 today?
- 15 GOVERNOR NOEM: Senator, no. The
- 16 southern border is not secure today. But in just
- 17 three days, we will have a new president in this
- 18 country, President Donald J. Trump. And he will
- 19 secure our border.
- 20 SENATOR HAWLEY: That is refreshing
- $21\,$ candor. I'm glad to hear it. Let me ask you
- 22 about a young man from my state. This is Travis
- 23 Wolfe who's 12 years old when he was killed just
- 24 over a year ago by an illegal migrant who mowed
- 25 him down, and I choose my words carefully, mowed Page 52

1 proactively helping these individuals that needed

- 2 the resources to secure their systems.
- 3 SENATOR HASSAN: Well, I appreciate
- 4 that. I'm way over time. There were very few
- 5 requirements purposely in that grant program
- 6 other than to make sure the money was being spent
- 7 the way we authorized. But let's continue to
- 8 talk about that.
- 9 GOVERNOR NOEM: Thank you.
- 10 SENATOR HASSAN: Thank you.
- 11 SENATOR JOHNSON: Senator Hawley.
- 12 SENATOR HAWLEY: Thank you, Mr.
- 13 Chairman. Governor Noem, welcome.
- 14 Congratulations on your nomination. I'm
- 15 delighted to see you here. I do notice the
- 16 Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee is over
- 17 your shoulder there. I have to question your
- 18 judgment about who your friends are based on that
- 19 through the great Chairman from the state of
- 20 Missouri. It's fantastic to have you here.
- The Department of Homeland Security is
- 22 not particularly old, but you already have the,
- 23 what I hope, will soon be the distinction of
- 24 succeeding the worst secretary in the history of
- 25 the Department of Homeland Security. Alejandro

- 1 him down in a motor vehicle, hit him head on
- 2 doing 75 and a 40, killed him. Others were
- 3 severely injured. Just yesterday, a witness
- 4 sitting where you are sitting today told this
- 5 committee that migrant crime is and I quote, "Not
- 6 an actual concern." Not an actual concern.
- 7 In a hearing before this committee
- 8 advising us to drop the Laken Riley act and not
- 9 focus on migrant crime. In my state with the
- 10 death of people like Travis Wolfe and Officer
- 11 David Lee who was assaulted and killed in St.
- 12 Louis and officers in Kansas City who have been
- 13 assaulted by illegal migrants and others who have
- 14 been carjacked and stabbed, would you agree with
- 15 me that migrant crime sure as heck is an actual
- 16 concern and that you intend to do something about
- 17 it?
- 18 GOVERNOR NOEM: Yes, Senator.
- 19 Absolutely. And I'm so sorry about Travis. My
- 20 prayers go out to his family. I can't even
- 21 imagine what that is like, and thank you for
- 22 telling his story because there's so many23 families in this country that have that same
- 24 story, and they don't understand why the federal
- 25 government is allowing people to come into this

Page 53

1 country illegally and then perpetuate crimes 1 GOVERNOR NOEM: Yes, Senator. If 2 against their people, and then give them 2 confirmed, and I have the opportunity to be 3 resources and shelter and food and debit cards to 3 secretary on day one, CBP One will be shut down. 4 go take care of their families when they go to 4 There's data and information in there that we 5 work every single day to make sure that they're 5 will preserve so that we can ensure we know who's 6 providing for their families and are held 6 coming into this country and who's already here 7 accountable to when they break our laws. 7 that we need to go find. But also, we make sure 8 that there's another program, CHNV, which I'm SENATOR HAWLEY: Let me ask you this, 9 will you work with President Trump to reinstate 9 sure you're very familiar with, where our federal 10 the Remain in Mexico program that the President 10 government actually paid to fly people into this 11 had in place in his first term, which does so 11 country directly from other countries without any 12 much to ensure that those who would seek to abuse 12 vetting or knowing who they are. So, there's 13 several of these programs that need to be 13 our asylum system are not allowed into the 14 country and those who have legitimate asylum 14 eliminated, and we need to ensure that we're 15 claims, their claims are processed in due order 15 following legal immigration laws. 16 and in due course, but they wait in Mexico until 16 SENATOR HAWLEY: I'm glad you just 17 those claims are fully processed. Will you work 17 mentioned CHNV. This is a mass parole program. 18 Of course, as you know, our law allows parole in 18 to reinstate that program? GOVERNOR NOEM: Yes, Senator. The 19 only very limited circumstances. There are two 20 president and I have talked extensively about 20 circumstances, and it requires case by case 21 this, and we'll 100 percent partner with him to 21 evaluation. The present administration soon to 22 reinstate the Remain in Mexico policy and make 22 be gone has granted mass parole in direct 23 sure that it's in place. 23 defiance of the law, not case by case evaluation. SENATOR HAWLEY: Fantastic. I think 24 The CHNV program is one of those instances. Will 24 25 Travis might be alive today if that policy had 25 you put a stop to this abuse of our parole law Page 54 Page 56 1 been in place. Let me ask you about CBP One, the 1 and our asylum system? 2 phone app, that I've called concierge service for GOVERNOR NOEM: Yes, we will go back to 2 3 illegal Immigrants. I'm sure you're familiar 3 case by case evaluation of these parole cases and 4 with it. This was the Biden administration's 4 ensure that we have more resources, if you will

- 5 effort to allow asylum seekers to apply ahead of
- 6 time using their phones but not actually to
- 7 provide any evidence that they needed asylum.
- 8 There is a newspaper report, a press report that
- 9 said the only problem with the app is it never
- 10 asks users are you seeking asylum? They don't
- 11 ask for any asylum evidence. They simply release
- 12 these so-called asylum seekers who use the app
- 13 into the country on parole.
- Sometimes, they're never given a
- 15 hearing. The Inspector General actually did a
- 16 report, a full investigation report on CBP One
- 17 and found that, frequently, users of this app
- 18 were claiming the same addresses in the United
- 19 States as their intended destination, even though
- 20 they didn't know each other, they weren't family
- 21 connections. In other words, it has been
- 22 completely abused. And the idea that the federal
- 23 government would pay for this kind of concierge
- 24 service for Illegals, I think, is outrageous.
- 25 Will you end the use of the CBP One app?

5 partner with us to make sure that our legal

6 immigration system is fully utilized, that we

7 have more judges, more immigration courts so that

8 we can process people legally and make sure that

9 they are going through that process rather than

10 like Joe Biden has done, use this an excuse to

11 allow people to come into our country with no

12 consequences.

13 SENATOR HAWLEY: Let me ask you about

14 another low light, not a highlight, but a low

15 light of this last administration and DHS. Your

16 predecessor, the current secretary of DHS,

17 established a disinformation board using taxpayer

18 resources to police speech on the internet and

19 elsewhere to tag American citizens' viewpoints as

20 either legitimate or not legitimate and use the

21 power of the state to censor them, including

22 having them removed and perhaps penalized.

23 This has got to be the darkest chapter,

24 I think, in DHS's short history. He eventually

25 withdrew the board under intense criticism but

- 1 has never fully repudiated it and never promised
- 2 not to do it again. Will you pledge to us here
- 3 today that, under your leadership, there will
- 4 never be a disinformation board or anything like
- 5 it at DHS, and you will be a champion for the
- 6 free speech and first amendment rights of all
- 7 Americans?
- 8 GOVERNOR NOEM: Senator, there will not
- 9 be a board such as that under my leadership at
- 10 the Department of Homeland Security.
- 11 SENATOR HAWLEY: Fantastic. Let me ask
- 12 you my remaining seconds, just one more thing
- 13 about the Secret Service. You've mentioned this,
- 14 and I'm so glad that you did this committee. And
- 15 it has been bipartisan. This committee has done
- 16 bipartisan work on the attempted assassinations
- 17 or the assassination attempts, I should perhaps
- 18 say, of the former president, the future
- 19 president, soon to be the president, President
- 20 Trump. We were stymied at every turn, and I
- 21 should use the present tense. We are currently
- 22 being stymied at every turn by the current Secret
- 23 Service leadership and, frankly, by the
- 24 leadership of DHS who have refused to turn over
- 25 documents who refused to make people available Page 58

- 1 it was a bipartisan report, an investigation that
- 2 this committee conducted. And I appreciate you
- 3 focusing on that, and I'll work with you to get
- 4 the information so that you have the truth of
- 5 really what happened there in the failures so
- 6 they can be fixed.
- 7 SENATOR HAWLEY: Thank you. That's a
- 8 great place to end in a high note as I see my
- 9 friend, Senator Blumenthal, who did fantastic
- 10 work on this effort, and it will be an incredible
- 11 new day and incredibly refreshing day to have a
- 12 DHA secretary who will tell us the truth, who
- 13 will be honest with us about the facts, honest
- 14 with the American people and who will enforce our
- 15 law. And I know you'll do that. Governor Noem,
- 16 I look forward to supporting your nomination.
- 17 Congratulations.

19

- 18 GOVERNOR NOEM: Thank you.
 - SENATOR JOHNSON: Senator Blumenthal.
- 20 SENATOR BLUMENTHAL: Thanks, Senator
- 21 Johnson. Welcome, Governor Noem. And thank you
- 22 for being here. Thank you for visiting with me
- 23 and thank you to your family for their service as
- 24 well. Let me begin on a high note thanking
- 25 Senator Hawley for his leadership on the effort

Page 60

1 for interviews.

- We finally had to pass my own law in
- 3 this committee, which we unanimously adopted a
- 4 law statute, mind you, which would require DHS
- 5 and Secret Service to turn over relevant
- 6 information to us about the assassination
- 7 attempts. It's unbelievable. When you come to
- 8 office to this office, I hope very soon will you
- 9 pledge to us that you will open the books on all
- 10 of the facts associated and around these
- 11 assassination attempts that you will make
- 12 available to us and to the public, most
- 13 importantly, all the facts so that we can ensure
- 14 that this never happens again and that the needed
- 15 reforms in the Secret Service are put into
- 16 effect.
- 17 GOVERNOR NOEM: Yeah. Senator, if I am
- 18 the Secretary of Homeland Security, I will
- 19 certainly work with you to build transparency and
- 20 make sure the facts are shared with you and your
- 21 committee. I know that you've been very
- 22 frustrated by the lack of transparency from the
- 23 department. And I want to thank those of you
- 24 that have worked on that report that was put
- 25 together on these assassination attempts. I know Page 59

- 1 that I led with him to essentially get some basic 2 facts out of the Secret Service when we were
- 3 investigating Senator Johnson and I as leaders of
- 4 the permanent subcommittee on investigation,
- 5 helping you lead it with the Chairman and ranking
- 6 member here.
- 7 And I'm hoping that you've read our
- 8 report and that you will agree to begin
- 9 implementing its recommendations, which call for
- 10 major reforms, in my view, a house cleaning top
- 11 to bottom in the Secret Service and greater
- 12 transparency with this committee and with the
- 13 American public.
- 14 GOVERNOR NOEM: Yes, sir. I will
- 15 certainly work with you to do that and to work to
- 16 make sure that we have that transparency, and the
- 17 committee has the information that it needs to do
- 18 due diligence of its oversight.
- 19 SENATOR BLUMENTHAL: Our investigation
- $20\,$ is continuing, Senator Johnson, and I have
- 21 discussed it. And we will be making more
- 22 requests to pursue the fact-finding that is so
- 23 important. I want to ask you about disaster 24 relief. California is on fire. The fire's
- 25 raging. There are going to leave destruction and

1 devastation that is heartbreaking. 1 that's a yes. 2 I am really disappointed with some of 2 GOVERNOR NOEM: I don't speak to 3 the statements that President-elect Trump has 3 hypotheticals, which is what you're asking me to 4 made, for example, saying that quote, "We won't 4 do. But what I will tell you is that as 5 give him," referring to Governor Newsom, "money 5 secretary, I will do the same. I will deliver 6 to put out all his fires. And if we don't give 6 the programs as the laws dictate. 7 him money to put out fires, he's got. 7 SENATOR BLUMENTHAL: Well, it's more SENATOR BLUMENTHAL: ... a problem. 8 than a hypothetical, with all due respect, and I 9 apologize for interrupting you, but my time is 9 The specter is there of potential discrimination 10 based on politics, withholding money from 10 limited, as you know, as a veteran of these 11 California or other states. It's not an 11 hearings. It's more than a hypothetical. It's 12 unfounded fear. In the last administration. 12 based on experience with President Trump 13 there were public reports about President Trump 13 withholding money from Washington State and 14 withholding money from the State of Washington 14 elsewhere. I need to know from you, will you 15 because of his disagreements with Governor 15 stand up to the President and say, "No, the 16 Inslee. Connecticut, like the rest of the 16 Constitution and the Impoundment Act requires us, 17 nation, suffers from these natural disasters. 17 for example, to allocate the 100 billion dollars 18 Most recently in August, we were hit by major 18 that we have just appropriated in the last 19 flooding, and these natural disasters are going 19 session to states like Connecticut \$3 million, 20 to become more frequent, as will be the need for 20 Texas, \$10 million, almost every one of the 21 the federal government to meet the requests for 21 states represented here." Will you say no to the 22 declarations of natural disaster. I assume you 22 President if he withholds that money? 23 will agree with me that withholding disaster 23 GOVERNOR NOEM: Sir, I don't know about 24 relief by President Trump or any other chief 24 the scenarios that you're referencing with 25 executive of the United States is a violation of 25 President Trump, but what I will tell you is that Page 62 Page 64 1 his duty and of law. 1 if given the chance to be Secretary of Homeland GOVERNOR NOEM: Well, Senator 2 Security, that I will deliver the programs 3 according to the law and that it will be done 3 leadership has consequences and looking at the 4 with no political bias, and if the programs 4 tragedy that's happening in California is --5 SENATOR BLUMENTHAL: I want to ask you 5 change or if you decide to change the rule of 6 yes or no, with all due respect, it's an easy --6 law, then I will follow that while adhering to GOVERNOR NOEM: What's happening in 7 the Constitution. 8 California is the ramification of many decisions 8 SENATOR BLUMENTHAL: So, you pledge to 9 over many years. But under my leadership at the 9 allocate and distribute that 100 billion dollars? 10 Department of Homeland Security, there will be no GOVERNOR NOEM: According to how the 10 11 political bias to how disaster relief is 11 program is written with no political bias. 12 delivered to the American people. 12 SENATOR BLUMENTHAL: Thank you.

13 SENATOR BLUMENTHAL: So, if President 14 Trump were to say to you, "We're going to 15 withhold money from Connecticut or Michigan or 16 any of the states, Iowa, because we don't like 17 the governor or we don't like the politics of the 18 state," you would stand up to him and say, "Mr. 19 president, we need to allocate that money." 20 GOVERNOR NOEM: Senator, in three days, 21 President Trump will take an oath to uphold the

22 Constitution and the rule of law in this country,

23 and he will do that, and I'll be glad to have him

SENATOR BLUMENTHAL: And I assume

24 back.

25

13 GOVERNOR NOEM: Every American deserves 14 to be there and have disaster relief the same as 15 their neighbors. 16 SENATOR BLUMENTHAL: Basically, 17 following the law. 18 GOVERNOR NOEM: Yes. 19 SENATOR BLUMENTHAL: Let me ask you, 20 Senator Peters asked you about homegrown 21 terrorists. The New Orleans tragedy was the 22 result of a homegrown terrorist born in this 23 country radicalized by ISIS and it reflects the 24 reason why the intelligence community, the FBI, 25 almost all of our law enforcement has said

Page 63

GOVERNOR NOEM: Yeah, I look forward to 1 1 repeatedly, domestic violent extremism is the 2 most lethal and persistent threat to our 2 working with you. 3 security. That terrorist was radicalized by 3 SENATOR PAUL: Senator Ernst. 4 SENATOR ERNST: Thank you, Senator 4 ISIS. The investigation is underway, we don't 5 Johnson. Governor Noem, thank you so much for 5 know all the facts, but we do know that he was a 6 being here today and I want to thank you for your 6 military veteran, and ISIS was responsible for 7 continuing service, the service that you had as a 7 radicalizing him. Shouldn't we focus on ISIS as 8 member of Congress, the service that you have 8 a threat to this country's security? GOVERNOR NOEM: Senator, certainly we 9 displayed as a governor of the great State of 10 South Dakota, our neighbor to the northwest, and 10 should be focused on all threats to this nation's 11 for being willing to step up and take on this 11 security. That's the mission of the Department 12 immense responsibility. So, thank you so very 12 of Homeland Security and homegrown terrorism is 13 growing. We have more and more incidences. The 13 much. 14 We had such a good discussion when you 14 tragedy we saw and the terrorist attack in New 15 came to my office in the last several weeks, and 15 Orleans was --16 SENATOR BLUMENTHAL: What will you do 16 we talked about the importance of securing our 17 border and fixing our broken immigration system. 17 to combat it? What will you do to stop ISIS and 18 other extremist organization from radicalizing 18 And I'd like to start today by sharing a story 19 about one of my constituents from Council Bluffs, 19 people in this country? GOVERNOR NOEM: Well, certainly 20 Iowa. And what we have seen through this broken 20 21 border is tragedy that strikes so many families 21 Senator, I'll continue to work with the 22 across the United States. So, very similar to 22 administration and our partners and the 23 Department of Defense, the intelligence agencies 23 the story that was shared by my colleague from 24 Missouri with his constituent Mr. Wolf. I have a 24 also within Secretary of State and the other 25 young woman by the name of Sarah Root who 25 branches and cabinet officials to make sure we're Page 66 Page 68 1 bringing all resources to bear to identify and to 1 encountered tragedy on January 31st, 9 years ago. 2 stop these types of terrorist activities. What I 2 So, Sarah Root was struck and killed by an 3 would say is the cybersecurity and intelligence 3 illegal immigrant who was drunk driving. He was 4 elements that we have within the Department of 4 driving at three times the legal limit of 5 Homeland Security have been incredibly siloed. 5 alcohol, and Sarah's killer was bonded out, 6 They have not communicated with other 6 bonded out before the Roots laid her to rest. He 7 intelligence agencies like they should and 7 fled the country and has not been seen or heard 8 from since. The Root family has not seen 8 partnered. INA has some interaction but not 9 enough and we also need to have CISA have 9 justice. So, Governor, how do you plan to 10 interaction with the FBI, CIA to make sure 10 prioritize the detention and deportation of 11 they're working together to stop these types of 11 illegal immigrants like Sarah's killer? 12 threats and identify when they're growing among GOVERNOR NOEM: Well, yes, Senator, 12 13 our citizens and how they become radicalized. 13 thank you for telling Sarah's story. I remember SENATOR BLUMENTHAL: My time has 14 when this happened because it was so close to 15 expired. This area of questioning I think is 15 home and so devastating for her and her family 16 supremely important. I know there's a lot of 16 and the entire State of Iowa and our country. 17 focus on the border. We all want more border 17 President Trump is focused on making sure that 18 these types of situations don't happen again, 18 security. We want to stop migrant crime, but

Page 67

19 let's not take our eye off the ball. The

20 governor of Louisiana for the Super Bowl ought to

21 be really riveted on the potential for homegrown

23 help him and other governors to do their duty to

24 protect the people of the United States from that

22 terrorism as a threat, and I hope that you will

25 homegrown terrorist threat. Thank you.

25 these criminal actors immediately and as soon as

21 come in and perpetuate crime with no

19 that we don't continue to lose our children and

20 our family members to illegal immigrants that

22 accountability and then are released with no

24 president is to secure the border and to deport

23 consequences. So, the number one priority of the

1 possible. They will be the number one priority 1 making sure that any communications are secured, 2 to make our communities safer and so that we 2 any work is secured. And to that, I know the 3 don't have this kind of situation going forward. 3 Biden Administration has put a huge emphasis on In fact, people, I think when they 4 the cyber bureaucracy, but they haven't really 5 first heard my name being mentioned and nominated 5 done anything about it, and they haven't given 6 for the Department of Homeland Security, maybe 6 any authority to those that are enforcing the 7 thought it was a little bit of a surprise, like, 7 standards. So, we need to enforce the standards 8 "Oh, I didn't think about Kristi doing that job." 8 that are set forth to make sure the cyber 9 But I tell people the reason that I asked for it 9 security is truly there, but what can DHS do one, 10 is because I knew it was the President's number 10 with telework how do we get the employees back, 11 one priority. I knew that it needed to have 11 and then two, how do we make sure that our 12 someone in the position that would do what the 12 systems are secure from these cyber-attacks? GOVERNOR NOEM: Well, Senator, thank 13 President promised the American people, would be 13 14 strong enough to do it and follow through to make 14 you for focusing on remote work and the need to 15 sure that we're protecting our communities and 15 get people back in their offices and accountable 16 America. But that also came at it from a 16 to the work that they do. In fact, I've heard 17 perspective of how these families feel, that was 17 since being nominated for this position that many 18 a wife and a mom and a grandmother and would be 18 of the agencies within the department are not 19 able to stand up and communicate to the American 19 showing up. They're not doing their jobs. But 20 people what we were doing and why we were, 20 even FEMA, who is responsible for disaster 21 because it's what they asked us to do. 21 response, that they have the alternative, some of 22 I have three grandchildren and one more 22 these employees do not even respond to a 23 on the way, and when I look at Little Miss Addie 23 disaster, which might explain the horrific 24 every day, I just think, "What kind of a country 24 results that we saw in North Carolina when they 25 is she going to grow up in? What kind of a 25 had such a terrible disaster that impacted Page 70 Page 72 1 country will we leave her and her brother and a 1 families and communities, and FEMA failed them so 2 sister?" And I don't want them to think that 2 miserably. If It's not even responsibility of 3 their grandma sat on the sidelines and didn't do 3 them to show up when terrible things happen, what 4 all that she could. So, I will enforce the 4 other day-to-day activities are not getting done 5 Constitution and the law, and I will make sure 5 because they're working from home or not doing 6 that when people enact horrific things like this 6 their job at all? 7 7 that happened to Sarah and her family, that there You talked about cyber security and the 8 need to ensure that our systems are safe and 8 will be consequences for it. SENATOR ERNST: Yeah, absolutely. And 9 secure. One of the things that disturbs me the 10 as a fellow grandma, I know that you are 10 most is that we don't necessarily even know how 11 perfectly positioned to enforce this. 11 some of these espionage attacks that have 12 I do want to move on to another topic 12 infiltrated our systems have happened. We don't 13 that we visited about in my office. So, I'm the 13 know how to stop them yet. We don't have the 14 founder and the chair of the DOGE Senate Caucus, 14 knowledge and that our departments and 15 and so we do need greater government efficiency, 15 intelligence agencies and cybersecurity agencies 16 and I do believe in order to do that, we need 16 have become siloed and aren't working together to 17 less of our employees teleworking and more of 17 stay in front of these bad actors. But many 18 those government workers back in the office 18 times, our most vulnerable area happens at the 19 working for our constituents. And to that end, 19 state and local level. Some of these smaller

We need more people back in the offices
Page 71

20 it ties together then too. We just found out

23 they access servers through work from home

24 software. So, it all ties together.

25

21 that the Treasury Department had a cyber-attack

22 on December 8th from China, and no surprise here,

So, one of the first meetings I had

20 entities that feeds information into our systems

22 data and to really hold for ransom many of these

23 companies and then impact our federal systems as

21 is where they choose to infiltrate and get our

19 (Pages 70 - 73)

Page 73

24 well.

1 when I was elected governor with the former 1 that he's in charge of our nation's borders. So, 2 governor during the transition was, he said, "The 2 I guess, again, I'd just like to go back to you. 3 number one priority you're going to have as 3 How are you going to work with Mr. Homan? What 4 governor is to secure our systems." 4 is the division there? I'm trying to get a SENATOR ERNST: Yes. 5 better sense of who's in charge. GOVERNOR NOEM: He said, "Our systems GOVERNOR NOEM: Yeah. Tom Homan is an 7 are so antiquated, and we've had over 16,000 7 incredible human being who has over 30 years of 8 hacking attempts in just the last month. You 8 experience at the border and the insight and 9 need to secure our systems to get it done." So, 9 wisdom and he --10 that was a priority for me and to do that, and we 10 SENATOR KIM: Incredible experience, I 11 fully funded it and got it done in South Dakota 11 get that. I'm just trying to think through 12 and it's being implemented today. I look forward 12 decision-making process when it comes to your 13 to doing that at the federal level to make sure 13 work. For instance, will he be giving orders 14 that people's data and information is safe, but 14 directly to CBP, ICE, USCIS? 15 also our country is safe from these bad actors 15 GOVERNOR NOEM: Tom Homan has a direct 16 that have a plan to take us out. 16 line to the President. He is an advisor to the 17 SENATOR ERNST: Well, thank you. My 17 President, the border Czar. I, obviously, will 18 time has expired, but I do want to end on a note 18 be if nominated and confirmed and put into the 19 that another thing that I do truly appreciate 19 position of being the Department of Homeland 20 about you and your nomination is that as a 20 Security Secretary and responsible for the 21 governor, you have worked with those local 21 authorities that we have and the actions that we 22 constituencies as well and those local 22 take. 23 governments, and I know that this will be an 23 SENATOR KIM: I say this because I 24 incredible strength that will ensure continued 24 actually want to make sure that we're empowering 25 success for you within the department. So, thank 25 the next Secretary of Homeland Security. Page 74 1 GOVERNOR NOEM: Yes. 1 you, Governor, very much. Thank you, Mr. Chair. SENATOR PAUL: Senator Kim. 2 2 SENATOR KIM: Thank you, Chairman. 3 4 Governor, it's good to see you. 4 started this after September 11th, said "All 5 GOVERNOR NOEM: Good to see you again 5 functions of all offices, employees and 6 organizational units of the department are vested 6 too. 7 SENATOR KIM: Thanks for coming before 7 in the secretary." So, I guess the reason why I 8 our committee. I wanted to just ask you not just 9 about your work, but how it's going to fit into 9 Mr. Homan where he said, "I'll be making 10 the broader incoming Trump Administration and 10 decisions on border security and deportation." 11 particular, I guess, I'm uncertain about roles 11 He was asked in another interview about the 12 and responsibilities regarding your position and 12 stronger role that he'll play, and he said, 13 Tom Homan's. I guess, I just want to ask you 13 "Absolutely, I'll be making decisions on how we 14 just point-blank who's going to be in charge of 14 do the border." 15 the border? 15 So, I just raise that as a concern of

GOVERNOR NOEM: Well, the president 17 will be in charge of the border. It's a national 18 security issue, and the president is in charge of

19 this country and has made a promise to the

20 American people, and we will fulfill his agenda.

SENATOR KIM: Well, that was a good

22 answer, it's the answer I would've given as well,

23 but I guess I got confused. When Trump made the

24 announcement about Tom Homan, he said, "I'm 25 pleased to announce that Tom Homan," and said

Page 75

SENATOR KIM: In the legislation that

3 was codified by Congress and moved forward that

8 mentioned this is I've just seen some quotes from

16 mine because not only is that about the function

17 of our executive branch, but also the

18 capabilities of this committee to be able to

19 properly do our constitutional duties for

20 oversight. The ability for us to be able to have

21 that conversation. We can talk to you, engage

22 with you, that is the direct way, but if he is

23 going to be making decisions, then he should come

24 before this committee as well. And I know that

25 that's something where, as far as I know, his

Page 77

1 role will be directly at the White House, is not 1 get into specifics about what organizations that 2 something that will be under the purview directly 2 are out there. So, I just wanted to get a sense 3 of this committee. So, I just wanted to raise 3 of your knowledge of the organizations. 4 those concerns. GOVERNOR NOEM: Yes, sir. You have all GOVERNOR NOEM: Yeah, yeah. Tom and I 5 the traditional terrorist organizations that have 6 work very well together and talk and communicate 6 always threatened the United States, but I would 7 all the time, and we'll be working together on a 7 also say --8 daily basis when we're in our positions under the 8 SENATOR KIM: Such as? 9 new administration. And I would say there's no 9 GOVERNOR NOEM: I would say Hamas, 10 authorities being planned to be taken away from 10 ISIS, continuing down that path of those 11 the department or myself if I'm in the role, and 11 terrorist organizations. But we'll continue to 12 we'll continue to oversee CPP --12 also focus though not just on those, but also the SENATOR KIM: But it sends some mixed 13 cartels, their partnership with the Chinese and 14 signals. You can understand how people in my 14 what they are doing. Listen, I've told people 15 home state, maybe around the country, when they 15 for years, for over 30 years, I've worked on 16 hear Mr. Homan saying, "I'm making the 16 national policy, on food policy, on agriculture 17 decisions." When they hear President-elect Trump 17 policy, and I've seen the Chinese agenda to 18 say he's in charge of our border. So, I urge 18 infiltrate our country, control our food supply 19 that we're going to try to do our best to try to 19 chain, but also their manipulation of their 20 make sure we're empowering the department, 20 currency and stealing our IP. And now I believe 21 empowering the next secretary because that's 21 that this fentanyl crisis that they have flooded 22 where our laws are invested in our decision-22 our country with is geared and the purpose of it 23 making. 23 is to kill our next generation of Americans. It 24 is to control us. 24 GOVERNOR NOEM: Yeah. Well, thank you 25 Senator, and we'll make sure you have all the 25 SENATOR KIM: No, I don't discount the Page 80 Page 78 1 information that you need. And Tom working 1 importance of those --2 directly with the president and I working GOVERNOR NOEM: So, when you focus on 2 3 directly with the president, hope to help you get 3 one or two groups, I think it takes your eye off 4 all that you need to reassured that the 4 the ball as to where all the threats could come 5 authorities will stay the same as they currently 5 from. We just spent a significant amount of time 6 are, but we will continue to work to secure that 6 talking about homegrown terrorism as well and 7 border and make sure that we're working together 7 about --8 in that way. 8 SENATOR KIM: Correct. And I'm glad SENATOR KIM: I want to just switch 9 we're having that conversation. But the reason 10 gears about you raised the concerns about 10 why I mentioned it, I was not trying to quiz you 11 terrorism, especially foreign terrorist groups. 11 or anything of that nature. It's just that when 12 I guess I just want to ask you, what are the 12 the Department of Homeland Security, when their 13 major foreign terrorist groups that are... Well, 13 threat assessment for 2025 lists three 14 first of all, what are the major foreign 14 organizations, lists Al Qaeda, lists ISIS, in 15 terrorist groups that are out there that we're 15 particular ISIS Khorasan, and the IRGC, and the 16 tracking, which are the ones that are concerns to 16 threat from Iran, I just want to make sure that I 17 us in terms of potentially trying to inspire or 17 get it. You're talking about the importance of 18 coordinate an attack upon us? And if you can, 18 the border. We all understand that we want to

SENATOR KIM: Well, you can at least
Page 79

19 just give me a sense of what their current

22 lot of threats. Senator, and since I'm not in the

23 role today, I shouldn't get into specifics with

GOVERNOR NOEM: Well, I think we face a

20 capabilities are to try to enact that.

24 you, but I think over years the --

25

23 legislation, the primary mission, the very first
24 mission is prevent terrorist attacks within the
25 United States and do everything we can to

19 work with the incoming administration to try to

20 have an orderly process with that. But I just

22 primary mission, if we look at the founding

21 want to make sure in particular with DHS, the

1 minimize that type of threat. 1 been a big topic of conversation in most of the So, yes, I do think it's important for 2 2 meetings that I've had with the members of this 3 us to focus in on one, two, or three or just 4 wherever these terrorist groups are at. Yes, 5 yes, I know that part of that effort to try to 6 minimize terrorist attacks is through the work 7 that we try to do to secure our borders, all of 8 them: air, sea, and land. But the primary 9 mission still is about preventing terrorism, not 10 just the border security. That's a tool to be 11 able to accomplish that. So, I just raised that 12 with you. I want to make sure that the next 13 Homeland Security Secretary has a very detailed 13 applied. Everyone should be subject to our laws, 14 knowledge and understanding about the terrorist 15 groups, their capabilities, and is tracking that 16 on a absolute daily basis, and that they 17 understand that is their top mission. And with 18 that, I'll yield back to the Chairman. 18 19 SENATOR PAUL: Senator Johnson. 20 SENATOR JOHNSON: Governor Noem, 21 welcome and thank you --22 GOVERNOR NOEM: Thank you. 23 SENATOR JOHNSON: ... for your 24 willingness to serve. You'll be taking over a 25 massive federal government agency, 240,000 Page 82

3 committee was how do we fix this agency which the 4 reputation is that it's broken and dysfunctional. 5 I think that was the question I get asked the 6 most is why would you want to head up such a 7 dysfunctional department? And I would say that 8 because the mission of the department is to 9 secure the homeland and our people, it's our 10 biggest vulnerability right now, and we have a 11 president that's not enforcing the law, and I 12 don't believe the law should be unequally 14 and a nation without laws and without borders is 15 not a nation at all. So, I will work by ensuring 16 one of the things that Senator Ernst talked 17 about, people have to show up for work. I think there's going to be a majority 19 of people who don't have their primary mission to 20 secure the homeland, that if they don't want to 21 show up for work, then maybe they're just not 22 truly passionate about protecting America. I 23 think they need to do that, and they need to 24 recognize what their job is. The morale in DHS 25 is very low. I'm going to let people do their Page 84

1 employees. It's probably too massive. I think 2 had I been there back then, I don't think I

3 would've assembled these 22 different agencies in

4 this massive department, but that's what we've

5 got. It's a department that the previous

6 administration, I think, has completely misused.

7 Instead of using customs and border protection to

8 do that, to protect our border and secure it,

9 they've utilized those resources to incentivize a

10 massive influx of illegal immigration. Instead

11 of using the Cybersecurity Infrastructure

12 Security Agency to do that, they instead engage

13 in mission creep and utilized it to censor

14 Americans with the misinformation board. I am

15 concerned about disaster relief, just federal

16 disaster relief in general, creating greater and

17 greater and increasing levels of moral hazard

18 resulting in higher costs of these disasters.

19 So, let's cover each one of those kind of in

20 order. How do you gain control over a massive

21 agency whose resources and personnel have been

22 misused? I mean, how do you root out those

23 individuals who instead of securing our border

24 opened it up and facilitated this?

25 GOVERNOR NOEM: Well, Senator, this has Page 83 1 jobs. I'm going to remind them what their jobs

2 are. Some of these border patrol agents haven't

3 been able to do their jobs for a very long time.

4 They've been processing paperwork and

5 facilitating an invasion when they should be back

6 securing our border, which is why they were

7 recruited and wanted to serve there to begin

8 with.

9 We're going to build partnerships with 10 local law enforcement, with ICE and task forces.

11 So, we're communicating again with local sheriffs

12 and mayors and law enforcement to partner

13 together. When you talk about the fact that this

14 is such a broken agency that needs so much

15 improvement, a lot of it goes back to why we're

16 recreated and are we fulfilling that mission and

17 making sure that these individuals are getting

18 back on task.

19 SENATOR JOHNSON: So, under my

20 Chairmanship and under the Trump Administration,

21 we did rename a part of DHS, so the Cybersecurity

22 Information Security Agency. I in no way, shape

23 or form ever contemplated that the sub-agency

24 within DHS that was really focused on securing us

25 against the cyber threats and other threats to

- 1 our infrastructure would ever be used to violate
- 2 the Constitution the way it was used to violate
- 3 the Constitution under the Biden Administration.
- 4 This administration's been completely opaque. We
- 5 do not have the information to know and the
- 6 communication in terms of what all happened here.
- 7 So, my question is relates to how they misused
- 8 CISA. Will you commit to providing the
- 9 transparency, providing the information,
- 10 investigate it yourself, but provide this
- 11 committee, my subcommittee, the information to
- 12 expose the truth of the American public, but even
- 13 more importantly, propose a piece of legislation
- 14 based on our investigation, based on those
- 15 results to fix it so that no administration can
- 16 ever misuse the language of the law to commit
- 17 that kind of unconstitutional act and violate
- 18 people's First Amendment rights?
- GOVERNOR NOEM: Yeah, Senator, I look
- 20 forward to working with you on that. And I think
- 21 what we saw during the COVID pandemic, the
- 22 actions of CISA, their misinformation and
- 23 disinformation campaign, the materials they were
- 24 putting out was shocking. Shocking at what they
- 25 were doing to decide what was truth, what wasn't,
 - Page 86

- 1 their lives, the hundreds of billions of dollars'
- 2 worth of property damage. It's not just
- 3 California though. I mean, again, that was
- 4 grotesque mismanagement, that could have been
- 5 prevented. You can't prevent a hurricane, you
- 6 can't prevent floods, but you certainly can try
- 7 and start reducing the moral hazard that we've
- 8 allowed to explode, quite honestly, by the
- 9 federal government rushing in immediately, no
- 10 questions asked, just tell us how big a check you
- 11 want. What can you do in your new role to try
- 12 and start reducing over time the moral hazard
- 13 that we have created in this country with federal
- 14 disaster relief?
- 15 GOVERNOR NOEM: Well, Senator
- 16 emergencies and disasters are always locally led.
- 17 They're led by the local communities and leaders,
- 18 and that's because they're much more responsive
- 19 and much better informed on how to bring relief
- 20 and to get those emergency services there to meet
- 21 the need. Then it's state supported and
- 22 federally resourced, which means that when we
- 23 come in that we're supporting what the mission
- 24 is, what those emergency operations and plans
- 25 are, that the local city and county, and then

- 1 and how they were trying to manipulate the
- 2 American people. We saw it in elections and
- 3 Russia influence as well, and so ensuring that
- 4 they can't do that in the future under any
- 5 administration would be a priority, that they
- 6 stay doing what they're supposed to do and
- 7 hardening our systems and working with local
- 8 officials to do that is a priority, and I'd look
- 9 forward to working with you on legislation should 10 you wish to rein them in.
- 11 SENATOR JOHNSON: So, the first step in
- 12 that process is to expose the truth to find out
- 13 who these backed actors were, expose who they
- 14 were, hold them accountable.
- 15 GOVERNOR NOEM: Yes.
- 16 SENATOR JOHNSON: I mean, that is
- 17 crucial that we take that first step. So, again,
- 18 look forward to working with you on that. The
- 19 tragedy of the California fires, the more we
- 20 learn, the more we understand that not only was
- 21 it predictable, it was predicted, which means it
- 22 was preventable. Again, you can't prevent the
- 23 initiation of those fires, but you certainly
- 24 prevent them from raging into the tragedy that
- 25 they became, the dozens of people who've lost

- 1 also the state has implemented and do what we can 2 to fulfill the mission of our programs.
- 3 One of the things that FEMA's not doing
- 4 today that I think we should be doing is
- 5 streamlining communications. We saw this in New
- 6 Orleans, we saw it in other terrorist attacks in
- 7 the country, and you just referenced it as well
- 8 about the American people not getting the truth,
- 9 Senators not getting the truth and the
- 10 transparency that we need is that I believe FEMA
- 11 can always put out a blueprint for what a
- 12 response would be should something terrible
- 13 happen.
- 14 And when we look at the Secret Service,
- 15 what happened in Butler, we saw that
- 16 communication was an issue, that the Secret
- 17 Service wasn't communicating, and balls were
- getting dropped with local authorities, local law
- 19 enforcement, and we can put forward a blueprint
- 20 for how communication can happen and be
- 21 streamlined between the federal government, the
- 22 state, and the local entities. So, that should
- 23 something happen, this is how we talk to each
- 24 other, to make sure that the public has the
- 25 facts, they're not getting misinformation, which

1 happened with the New Orleans terror attack just 1 SENATOR GALLEGO: Thank you, Chairman. 2 recently, but also up in Pennsylvania as well. 2 Thank you, Governor, for your attendance and I That blueprint is what we do at the 3 appreciate us meeting last week and our frank 4 state level that FEMA has failed to do, to 4 conversation. So, following up to our 5 proactively educate the public on what 5 conversation, in recent years, I've been in very 6 everybody's roles are, what we do should 6 close contact with our Arizona border 7 something happen, whether it be a natural 7 communities, which are unlike other border 8 disaster or a terrorist attack or an emergency 8 communities and about the funding needs to 9 response is needed, that we can put out those 9 address migrant influxes through the shelter and 10 blueprints ahead of time, educate people, train 10 services program or SSP. Without this funding 11 those local entities, which they currently do to 11 border communities must bear all the financial 12 a certain extent today, but not good enough to 12 burden for national immigration challenges and 13 really know that not only can the resources be 13 the broken border in general. So, that means 14 pre-deployed in many of these situations so that 14 police, fire, hospital systems in general, 15 they're more readily accessible, but also how are 15 anything of that. And at the same time, they'll 16 we going to communicate and make sure everybody's 16 also face the potential challenges of street 17 on the same page so that we can be much more 17 releases. And again, these are very small towns 18 efficient. 18 on the border, so having thousands of people 19 I wish that we would've had different 19 being released becomes both burdensome security 20 leadership and a different governor in 20 issues and just not fair to them. And we get 21 California, or we might have a different result 21 lumped in with places like New York and Chicago 22 there. But in the Department of Homeland 22 about how they do their shelter programs. 23 Security, we can do all that we can to make sure 23 Our shelter programs are not the same 24 that the people that live in California know that 24 as New York and Chicago. We do not permanently 25 they're going to get a response from the federal 25 put people in apartments or anything of that Page 90 Page 92 1 government that's appropriate, and we did all 1 nature. We are trying to move people away from 2 that we could to make sure that they had the 2 the border so that way they don't become a burden 3 information ahead of time so they could protect 3 on these very, very small communities. So, I'm 4 themselves when they do have a failure in 4 very highly concerned, as I told you in our 5 leadership like we've seen. 5 meeting when the SSP program becomes politicized 6 SENATOR JOHNSON: Thank you and good 6 and to the point where we get lumped in with 7 luck. 7 those programs, I don't think are effective and 8 GOVERNOR NOEM: You bet. 8 are actually counterproductive and it ends up SENATOR PAUL: Since Senator Johnson 9 depriving our small Arizona borders of these 10 brought up California fires, I have to interject 10 very, very vital funds that they need. So, as 11 here. We talked about burn policies, these are 11 DHS Secretary, how would you ensure that border 12 local policies, how we try to not have so much 12 communities are not left to respond to and pay 13 brush and things like that. They're also next to 13 for these immigration influxes, the broken border 14 the largest body of water in the world, the 14 system on their own? And when you commit to 15 Pacific Ocean. So, I see these homes all burning 15 helping really not politicize or just join the 16 on the beach in Malibu, and I'm like, "Wow, if 16 SSP program to the point where places that are

Page 91

17 they just had a generator and a hose, you start

20 and put it in cisterns up in the hills a mile or

22 don't they take the ocean water, put it in

25 local government. Senator Gallego.

18 sucking the water out of the Pacific Ocean." But

19 you could do more than that. You could pump it

21 two in. It doesn't rain very much there, but why

23 cisterns and have a bunch of water ready when a

24 wildfire shows up, but it's like once again, bad

18 Pima County, like Cochise County, aren't lumped
 19 in with the people that are doing things
 20 incorrectly like New York State and Chicago.
 21 GOVERNOR NOEM: Well, Senator, thank
 22 you for the conversation in your office about the
 23 program, FEMA, the southern border, and the
 24 challenges and then also the difference between
 25 your state and how you utilize funds versus other

17 doing things correctly like Yuma, Arizona, like

24 (Pages 90 - 93)

- 1 states. I would say that, my hope is that if
- 2 given the opportunity to serve as secretary, that
- $3\,$ the federal government would no longer, and $I\,$
- 4 believe as President Trump has promised the
- 5 American people facilitate an illegal alien
- 6 invasion and that your communities in Arizona
- 7 would no longer have the issue with having people
- 8 in your small towns and communities that you need
- 9 to figure out how to take care of and get them to
- 10 where they want to go in other places of the
- 11 country.
- The President has promised he will
- 13 secure the border that we will uphold our
- 14 nation's laws and that he will do that to the
- 15 benefit and be putting America first again. So,
- 16 I know we talked extensively about the SSP
- 17 program and how you've utilized it, but getting
- 18 these programs back to what they were intended is
- 19 important to FEMA as a disaster response agency,
- 20 and some of the facilities that have been
- 21 utilizing these types of funds and dollars need
- 22 to be reevaluated and to make sure that it's
- 23 truly doing the service that is upholding our
- 24 nation's laws.
- 25 SENATOR GALLEGO: And certainly, I

- 1 think the mistakes that other states have taken
- 2 on. Moving on, in Arizona, we have large parts
- 3 of the board, they run through tribal lands. We
- 4 have 22 federally recognized tribes. We have
- 5 great relationships with these tribes. They want
- 6 to be collaborative partners when it comes to
- 7 border security. And then we have some great
- 8 programs that have worked in the past. For
- 9 example, the Shadow Wolves Program with the
- 10 Tohono O'odham Nation is a really good example,
- 11 collaborative program of tribal law enforcement
- 12 that worked with DHS to make sure they stop human
- 13 smuggling and cartels going through the borders.
- 14 But as DHS Secretary, what is your plan to
- 15 consult with our border tribes and work together
- 16 to balance both national security but also their
- 17 sovereignty?
- 18 GOVERNOR NOEM: Yeah. Well, Senator, I
- 19 believe that my experience as governor and my
- 20 relationship with working with our tribes is
- 21 going to be an incredible powerful tool for me to
- 22 bring to bear at the Department of Homeland
- 23 Security to work on how we secure our southern
- 24 border but still respect their sovereignty and
- 25 still be able to work with them. This year, when

1 looking at public safety issues that we had in

2 South Dakota and their lack of ability to hire

Page 96

- 1 understand reevaluating especially how some of
- 2 these states have been using it and in an ideal
- 3 world, we don't have to have a program like that
- 4 because we don't have this mass of humanity
- 5 that's coming towards our borders, but even under
- 6 the first Trump administration, we actually still
- 7 needed it also. So, this is why my concern is to
- 8 not get rid of this program because again, these 9 small communities, I'm talking communities of
- 10 maybe 10,000 people, maybe only six or seven cops
- 11 are going to end up really bearing the brunt and
- 12 we are not a big state. We can't really
- 13 compensate for these types of losses. These
- 14 small communities are also largely, you come from
- 15 a rural state, counties that are largely rural
- 16 and with a lot of federal land so that actually
- 17 don't even have a tax base.
- So, when the broken immigration system
- 19 sends people to these borders and these
- 20 communities don't have enough money to pay for
- 21 cops, firefighters over time for hospital
- 22 systems, it's that type of program that keeps
- 23 these small communities afloat. So, just want to
- 24 make sure that again, this doesn't not become
- 25 politicized and that we are kept separate from I

- 3 tribal officers on our reservations in South
- 4 Dakota, I offered to train federal law
- 5 enforcement officers, BIA officers, but also6 their tribal police in South Dakota at no cost to
- 7 our tribes. And it's been an incredible powerful
- 8 tool that we've had to build relationships.
- 9 Those tribal police had the chance to go through
- 10 academy with the local maybe deputies from the
- 11 counties and the state highway patrol troopers
- 12 that were coming on board, and those
- 13 relationships have built partnerships in our
- 14 state that we didn't have before.
- 15 The Shadow Wolf training opportunity is
- 16 incredible. That was down in Arizona that you
- 17 spoke of too, and in looking into that program,
- 18 I'd like to continue to build on that and
- 19 perpetuate in the future so that our tribes have
- 20 an opportunity to have a secure border but also
- 21 have it reflect their values and their culture
- 22 and have their own people be a part of the
- 23 solution and then even when it comes to the
- 24 infrastructure of the wall that we're respecting25 that and their landscapes and their land as well.

Page 97

1 So, I look forward to working with you as we move 1 ago today, we met in probably the coldest day 2 into this next administration to be able to 2 I've ever been in my life in Iowa --3 protect our country and then work and respect our 3 GOVERNOR NOEM: Yeah, that's true. 4 tribes as we do so. SENATOR MORENO: ... as you and I were SENATOR GALLEGO: Thank you. And the 5 making phone calls and whipping up votes for 6 President Trump and some of his other potential 6 Republicans in Iowa, my wife Bridget, who's here, 7 staff and advisors have been very vocal about 7 got a chance to meet you and we left Iowa saying, 8 implementing a mass deportation strategy, talking 8 "That person's really going to go far," and here 9 to my agricultural community, my dairy community, 9 we are nine years later, you've been an amazing 10 they have concerns that this approach will lead 10 governor, amazing Congresswoman, and now you're 11 to workforce shortages that will further drive up 11 going to make an even better Secretary of the 12 the costs of everything and something that we 12 Department of Homeland Security. So, I think 13 have really been working hard to cross, I think a 13 sometimes in D.C. we tend to complicate things. 14 bipartisan and a bipartisan manner to bring down 14 There is a current Secretary of Homeland 15 the costs of everything and unfortunately this 15 Security, so why don't we take this opportunity 16 would reignite inflation. What is your plan to 16 to do a little job review and compare and 17 ensure safe and legal immigration processes for 17 contrast him to you. So, if you don't mind, I'll 18 agricultural workers while protecting local 18 ask you some questions and you can give me an 19 agricultural operations, including those both of 19 answer. Secretary Mayorkas allowed about, you 20 our home states? 20 said it, just about 400 people on the terror 21 GOVERNOR NOEM: Well, Senator, the 21 watch list to come into this country legally. If 22 President and President Trump has been very clear 22 you were confirmed as Secretary of Homeland 23 that his priority is going to be deporting 23 Security, how many people on the terror watch 24 criminals, those who have broken our laws and 24 list would you allow into this country? 25 perpetuated violence in our communities. That'll 25 GOVERNOR NOEM: Well, Senator, we would Page 98 1 be the priority. And as I spoke earlier with our 1 work every single day until that number was zero. 2 statistics, having over 425,000 of those with 2 And if you look at the previous Trump 3 criminal convictions in our country, that will be 3 administration over his entire four years in 4 a focus that we need to tackle right away, and 4 comparison to Joe Biden's number President Trump, 5 it'll be a big one. Beyond that, his next 5 it was 11 that were then removed from the country 6 priority is going to be those with final removal 6 and faced consequences. When you look at the 382 7 orders and focus on those individuals who have 7 that Joe Biden has let in and the policies 8 long overstayed and that there is a consequence 8 continue, is shocking and needs to be changed 9 for ignoring our federal laws. Beyond that, 9 immediately. 10 we'll continue conversations. As you know, I'm a 10 SENATOR MORENO: Mayorkas let in about 11 farmer and a rancher and come from an 11 12,000 murderers, how many would you target to 12 agricultural state and we'll work together to 12 let into this country? 13 make sure that laws are followed. It is the 13 GOVERNOR NOEM: My goal every day would 14 Senate and the house that puts forward the laws. 14 be to have no murderers allowed into this country 15 I as secretary uphold the law, so you determine 15 and our communities. 16 what that is and debate and discussion. I'll be SENATOR MORENO: Mayorkas allowed 17 transparent and share as much information and 17 16,000 rapists, how many would you target to let 18 insight as I have with my background and 18 in? 19 19 experience and continue to work with you. GOVERNOR NOEM: Every day I'd work to 20 SENATOR GALLEGO: (Indiscernible). 20 make sure that there was none let into this 21 SENATOR PAUL: Senator Moreno. 21 country. SENATOR MORENO: First of all, thank 22 SENATOR MORENO: He let 600,000 --

Page 99

23 you, Governor, for being here for testifying

24 before this committee and for your service, not

25 just to your state but to America. Nine years

25

23 Mayorkas, 600,000, people with criminal

24 convictions, how many would you allow in?

GOVERNOR NOEM: We would work every day

Page 101

- 1 to make sure people are safe and that those with 1 GOVERNOR NOEM: Oh, Senator, my hope is 2 criminal convictions are immediately removed. 2 that that would be true. Yes. SENATOR MORENO: How many private jets SENATOR MORENO: Let's switch to 3 4 would you have the United States taxpayers have 4 another part of the disgraceful immigration laws 5 fly into foreign countries to pick up people to 5 that Biden and Mayorkas, who objectively, by the 6 bring them here. 6 way, objectively, has been the worst cabinet 7 GOVERNOR NOEM: Yeah. Senator, we will 7 member ever in the history of the United States 8 of America. Let's talk about temporary 8 no longer be undertaking that mission at the 9 Department of Homeland Security. 9 protective status. Temporary being the operative SENATOR MORENO: So, not 700,000 10 word. Mayorkas and Biden just extended temporary 11 individuals on private jets over the last four 11 protective status again through 2027. Will you 12 years, you would not have any? 12 continue to corrupt TPS to allow some sort of GOVERNOR NOEM: No. I'll be working 13 open borders agenda and will you use hot weather 14 with President Trump to put in place his agenda 14 of 80 degrees and sunny beaches in El Salvador as 15 and adherence to our federal laws. 15 a reason why people have to stay in America and SENATOR MORENO: And how many illegals 16 not safely return? 17 will you plan to house in luxury hotel rooms in 17 GOVERNOR NOEM: Yeah, Senator, this 18 Manhattan at a cost of \$6,000 per month? 18 program has been abused and manipulated by the 19 GOVERNOR NOEM: Sir, clearly, Senator, 19 Biden administration and that will no longer be 20 during this election, the American people said 20 allowed to allow that and these extensions going 21 they did not support that and that that would not 21 forward the way that they are, the program was 22 be a part of this new administration. 22 intended to be temporary and this extension of 23 23 over 600,000 Venezuelans as well is alarming when SENATOR MORENO: How about sex change 24 you look at what we've seen in different states, 24 operations for illegals, how many of those would 25 you suspect you would fund? 25 including Colorado with gangs doing damage and Page 102 1 GOVERNOR NOEM: Senator, I believe that 1 harming the individuals and the people that live 2 the Department of Homeland Security will be 2 there. 3 reevaluating its mission in this country to not 3 4 allow that going forward under President Trump's 4 border, like the physical border, I've been there 5 goals. SENATOR MORENO: And if you had any 7 legal migrant that was in this country and they 8 committed a crime, would you offer them airfare 8 government or the Mexican drug cartels? 9 from one state to another to evade law 10 enforcement? 10 States needs to control our borders and secure 11 GOVERNOR NOEM: Sir, I will be 11 them. 12 following this nation's laws and the Constitution 12 13 and make sure that all laws are adhered to. SENATOR MORENO: And if you had been
 - 15 the head of the Department of Homeland Security a 16 year or so ago, would you have closed a detention 17 center in Georgia that would've allowed the 18 release of somebody charged with a crime?

GOVERNOR NOEM: Sir, I don't have the 20 specifics to that situation, but certainly that

21 would not be something that I would want to have 22 under my watch.

SENATOR MORENO: So, just to be clear, 24 Laken Riley would be alive today if you had been

25 the Secretary of Homeland Security?

Page 103

SENATOR MORENO: And in terms of our

5 many times. You've been there many times. Who

6 should be in charge? Who should have operational

7 control of our border? The United States

GOVERNOR NOEM: Oh, Senator, the United

SENATOR MORENO: So, if this were a job

13 interview in the private sector and you had

14 somebody like Alejandro Mayorkas in charge and we

15 had the opportunity to upgrade to you, this would

16 be the greatest upgrade in history of the United

17 States of America. But I'm going to end my time

18 with a startling statistic and actually a

19 challenge to the Democrat party. When Mayorkas

20 was confirmed, every single Democrat voted to

21 confirm him, and six Republicans joined all 50

22 Democrats in that confirmation. If we get to the 23 vote, and hopefully Chairman, we could do that

24 Monday, because we cannot wait one single day

25 without you being in charge of that department.

Page 105

1 We should have 100 percent; 100 Senators vote for 2 your confirmation. This will be the litmus test in my mind 4 as to whether we have a Democrat party that's

- 5 actually serious about doing bipartisan things
- 6 like securing this country and protecting our
- 7 citizens. Any Democrat that voted for Mayorkas
- 8 that does not vote for you should be in front of
- 9 their voters and removed from office. Thank you
- 10 for serving, Brian. Thank you for being here,
- 11 for putting up with the nonsense that you guys
- 12 have had to put up with over the years. You are
- 13 going to make an amazing Secretary of Homeland
- 14 Security. Thank you for being here.
- 15 GOVERNOR NOEM: Thank you, Senator.
- 16 SENATOR PAUL: Senator Slotkin.
- 17 SENATOR SLOTKIN: Thanks for being here
- 18 and thanks for our time in my office, Governor.
- 19 I'm a former CIA officer, joined right after 9/11
- 20 and served three tours in Iraq alongside the
- 21 military. I'm actually the first CIA officer in
- 22 the Senate and to me the most important thing
- 23 again as a Democrat from a state that Trump won,
- 24 right, on the same ballot we both won. I
- 25 understand we're going to have different policy Page 106

1 very elite military unit. I mean, it's horrible.

- 2 It's one of the hardest things to catch the sort
- 3 of lone wolf, radicalized American citizen, but I
- 4 want to protect ourselves. Our most recent
- 5 examples of domestic terrorism we're not what
- 6 we've spent the majority talking about today,
- 7 crime from a migrant, and I don't dispute there
- 8 is crime, but I just want to know and I want to
- 9 hear from you as an intelligence officer that
- 10 you're going to speak about real threats and not
- 11 blow something up, politicize something, make
- 12 something more exciting because that's maybe what
- 13 the President wants to hear, but your mission to
- 14 protect and defend the Constitution means calling
- 15 honestly what the threats are to the country.
- 16 Can you just give me a yes or no, please?
- 17 GOVERNOR NOEM: Yes, Senator. I will
- 18 be as transparent and factual every day with you
- 19 and the American people as possible based on the
- 20 information that I have. I don't know if the
- 21 investigations are closed in New Orleans and in
- 22 Nevada, but what we know so far and needs to be
- 23 relayed to the American people, needs to be the
- 24 truth and facts.
- 25 SENATOR SLOTKIN: Yeah, I'd ask that. Page 108
- 1 opinions. I certainly understand that the
- 2 President or incoming President has the right to
- 3 nominate whoever he wants. Those are not the
- 4 issues for me that I'm going to spend my time on.
- 5 The ones that I care about the most relate to the
- 6 mission of the organization when it was founded,
- 7 protecting the homeland, and I think to me, it's 8 one thing when there's campaign rhetoric or
- 9 political politicization of things, everyone does
- 10 that on both sides of the aisle in this committee
- 11 and in our line of work, but when it comes to
- 12 actually protecting the country, you do have to
- 13 be clear and honest about facts and not conflate
- 14 things.
- 15 So, it's just important to me that I
- 16 know, particularly since you do have one of the
- 17 intelligence agencies within the Department of
- 18 Homeland Security, that you're going to call a
- 19 spade a spade, right? The most recent acts of
- 20 domestic terrorism in New Orleans, horrible
- 21 incident in Nevada had nothing to do with
- 22 migrants. Correct?
- 23 GOVERNOR NOEM: Correct.
- 24 SENATOR SLOTKIN: They were homegrown
- 25 American citizens. One of them was actually in a

- 1 We've talked a lot about border security. As a 2 CIA officer, I think one of the only people on
- 3 this committee who's actually worked on
- 4 protecting the homeland. I'm a Middle East
- 5 terrorism and militia expert by training, so I
- 6 believe deeply in it and every country of the
- 7 world gets to decide who comes inside its
- 8 borders. That's not a radical concept, but I
- 9 think I've been open with this committee that it
- 10 is also on us to fix the deeply broken legal
- 11 immigration system. I'm glad to hear that you're
- 12 going to carry out the laws on the immigration
- 13 system. Democrats and Republicans are to blame
- 14 that we haven't fixed this system, but I also
- 15 believe you can't fully control the border unless
- 16 you give people that we need for our companies,
- 17 for our economy a legal vetted way to come here.
- 18 So, do you believe in legal vetted immigration
- 19 and that we need more of it in the United States?
- 20 GOVERNOR NOEM: I do believe we need to
- 21 follow our legal immigration laws and that it
- 22 needs to be vetted. We need more resources, I
- 23 believe in some of the elements of this to ensure
- 24 that we're --
- 25 SENATOR SLOTKIN: Do you believe that Page 109

1

1 our economy depends and needs some level, just
2 like your family came from Norway and on economic
3 drive and wanted a better life --

4 GOVERNOR NOEM: Well, immigration's 5 always been a part of our history and will be a

6 part of our future. We just need to make sure

7 that we're adhering to our nation's laws, which

8 this body has the ability to --

9 SENATOR SLOTKIN: I'm with you, I'm 10 with you.

11 GOVERNOR NOEM: ... continue to change 12 and to put in place.

13 SENATOR SLOTKIN: Again, going back to

14 the fact that you will pledge an oath to the

15 Constitution, not to President Trump. Just like

16 every other nominee, President Trump said in

17 November that he's willing to use law

18 enforcement, National Guard, or even active-duty

19 military to go after the threat from within the

20 United States. I don't know exactly what he was

21 talking about, but we have recent examples from

22 your predecessors at DHS where federal law

23 enforcement were sent into a state, in this case

24 Oregon without coordination with the governor.

25 Those federal law enforcement officers at the

Page 110

SENATOR SLOTKIN: I just to know you're

2 a former governor, you can imagine that if Joe

3 Biden sent in 700 federal law enforcement under

4 Secretary Mayorkas without coordinating with you,

5 I think we can agree you'd be a little upset.

6 So, I just ask that you give the same respect for

7 coordination and that we are very sensitive.

8 People are worried about politicizing of law

9 enforcement and the uniformed military. That's a

10 bad thing. I hope we can agree. Lastly, I will

11 just say, look forward to looking at the northern

12 border, the Gordie Howe Bridge, your help

13 staffing that. We know you are right now across

14 many administrations, we haven't met our staffing

15 goals at DHS and that's a problem, so we really

16 want to make sure that opens on time.

17 But I also want your assurances. You

18 received FEMA assistance from Joe Biden's

19 administration, right? You had historic floods.

20 You asked and requested of the administration,

21 and you were given millions of dollars to help

22 with that. I understand you don't like Gavin

23 Newsom, but can you say in front of the American

24 people that you will open the books to this

25 committee who does have oversight over FEMA, that

Page 112

1 time were putting down threats to federal

2 buildings and they were legitimate threats. I

3 don't dispute, there was destruction of property

4 going on during a bunch of protests and riots, so

5 I don't dispute that. But they weren't wearing

6 insignia. We talked about this. They weren't

7 wearing any markings, so people were arrested by

8 folks in fatigues with no names, no idea who they

9 were, like right out of a bad Hollywood movie.

10 Okay. If the President asks you to send in

11 federal law enforcement to a state without

12 coordination of that, Governor, would you support

13 that action?

14 GOVERNOR NOEM: Senator, my job, if

15 nominated, and sworn in as Secretary of Homeland

16 Security, is to uphold the Constitution and to

17 uphold --

18 SENATOR SLOTKIN: So, you will push

19 back --

20 GOVERNOR NOEM: ... the rules of this

21 country. Yes, that will be the oath and the

22 pledge that I will be making. And my goal also

23 is to work with you to ensure that we have

24 situations that are always appropriate, that we

25 are well-defined on who we are --

1 you will open the books in a bipartisan way to

2 ensure whether it's North Carolina or California

3 or anywhere in between, that the American people

4 can know that you are not playing politics with

5 disaster assistance?

6 GOVERNOR NOEM: Yes. Senator, I'll

7 work with you in this committee to make sure I'm

8 following the federal law and ensuring that you

9 have information and transparency from us and

10 from DHS and FEMA.

11 SENATOR SLOTKIN: Thank you.

12 Appreciate it. Yield back.

13 SENATOR PAUL: Senator Lankford.

SENATOR LANKFORD: Governor Noem, great

15 to see you.

14

16 GOVERNOR NOEM: Great to see you too.

17 SENATOR LANKFORD: Thanks for being

18 here. Thanks for accepting this nod that the

19 President has given you. For, Brian, thanks.

20 Both of you, you've walked through a lot. I have

21 had the privilege of knowing you for a very long

22 time since we served together in the House of

23 Representatives, so I have the benefit of knowing

24 your qualifications and how strong you are in all

25 these background issues and how hard you work on

1 One app? 1 these things because I've seen it firsthand. So, 2 I appreciate you stepping into this because a lot 2 GOVERNOR NOEM: Yes, Senator. We will 3 of attention across the country will be focused 3 eliminate the CBP One app, maintain some of the 4 on this. You know that full well and you've 4 data that's in it that's critical to knowing 5 stepped into it. For Governor Landry, my state 5 who's in our country, but that app will no longer 6 and many folks in my state are praying for you 7 and for your state. You've done a great job in 7 SENATOR LANKFORD: Thank you. No other 8 leadership at this moment in a very, very tough 8 President has ever used the parole authority, 9 time for Louisiana, and we don't want to see acts 9 just in general, humanitarian parole to 10 of terrorism anywhere in our country and it's 10 facilitate faster processing of aliens into our 11 incredibly difficult days for a governor, so 11 country, which leads to the catch and release 12 thanks for your leadership on that as well. I 12 we've all heard about. So, the Oklahomans that I 13 also have to tell you, Kristi, I've whined to my 13 talked to say, "Are we about to end the abuse of 14 wife occasionally about the temperature that's 14 parole and end catch and release? Is that about 15 to stop?" 15 coming on Monday. I'm very excited about Trump's 16 inaugural, but we're all going to be sitting 16 GOVERNOR NOEM: Senator, President 17 outside in about 12 degrees. And I thought just 17 Trump's been very clear that he will end catch 18 for fun, I would check South Dakota on Monday, 18 and release. 19 it's one, for a high, for a high. 19 SENATOR LANKFORD: Terrific. Folks 20 GOVERNOR NOEM: Yeah, for a high. 20 want to know, will you use your authority with 21 SENATOR LANKFORD: And so, I'm going to 21 the funds that are given to you by Congress to 22 stop whining about the temperature Monday here in 22 actually build more wall rather than use the 23 Washington, D.C. on it. Look, I'm going to run 23 funding that's given to you as the Biden 24 through a couple of things here because I know 24 administration did to do environmental 25 you, not everybody in Oklahoma knows you. The 25 remediation around the border rather than actual Page 114 Page 116 1 questions that I get from people though in 1 border wall and border structure? 2 Oklahoma, I want to be able to run past you 2 GOVERNOR NOEM: Yeah. Senator, 3 because they want to be able to know the answer 3 President Trump has been clear that he wants to 4 to these things, so I'm just going to blitz 4 build the wall. 5 through a whole bunch of them. Will you use the SENATOR LANKFORD: So, do we. So, will 6 legal authority that DHS already has to be able 6 you use your authority to be able to scan more 7 to close our border? 7 vehicles and obviously we've got to get you the GOVERNOR NOEM: Yes, Senator. I will 8 funding to be able to do this, to be able to scan 9 work with President Trump to ensure that we're 9 more vehicles and individuals that are carrying 10 securing our border. 10 Fentanyl into our country through our ports of SENATOR LANKFORD: Thank you. There's 11 entry. 12 a lot of things that this Congress needs to do, 12 GOVERNOR NOEM: Yes, Senator. We will 13 has already been mentioned by Senator Slotkin as 13 continue to use technologies but hopefully be 14 well, that we need you to be able to close 14 able to use more with the resources that were 15 loopholes to be able to give you additional 15 granted to scan those vehicles and know what's 16 authority, but there's a tremendous amount of 16 coming in and out of this country. 17 authority currently not being used in Oklahoma, 17 SENATOR LANKFORD: Last year, FEMA 18 as you're saying, is that about to be used? And 18 employees during disaster relief were instructed 19 they'll be grateful to be able to hear that. No 19 by one of their supervisors that if they see a 20 other President has ever created a phone app to 20 Trump sign or a Trump flag flying to skip that 21 be able to facilitate a faster processing of 21 house, to not stop by there and tell them what 22 aliens in, called the CBP One app. It's been 22 their federal government can do for them. Will

25 of illegal aliens into our country with the CBP

Page 115

23 mentioned several times here. Will you use your

24 authority to stop facilitating faster processing

25 gets help and who doesn't as an American?

23 you allow FEMA employees or any within DHS to

24 politicize their role and to pick and choose who

1 GOVERNOR NOEM: Senator, under 1 that. Let me tell you another challenge we've 2 President Trump's administration, disaster and 2 had with Homeland Security in the past four 3 emergency relief will not be handed out with 3 years. When we ask for data and for information, 4 political bias. Every American will be responded 4 we get, "I'll get back to you on that." When we 5 to and treated equally. 5 ask again and again and again, we get SENATOR LANKFORD: That's what folks 6 the same statement, "I'll get back to you on 7 want to know. Will you review the Secret Service 7 that." Now, I can go down the street to the 8 responsibilities to be able to go back through it 8 command center, where they actually get the data 9 and to say, are they focused on their primary 9 in live, and they have it up on big screens and 10 mission or is there something you could distract? 10 they're tracking exactly what's happening on the 11 Secret Service still chases down financial 11 southern border to the minute, but if I ask for 12 what happened last month, they'll say, "We're 12 crimes, they're still chasing down child 13 exploitation. Those are serious things for 13 still gathering that data." We're not asking for 14 Treasury or for FBI to do, but there's a question 14 anything other than what Congress is supposed to 15 is if that's the first priority for Secret 15 get. That's the ability to be able to see data 16 Service? 16 and to have real oversight over DHS and that has 17 GOVERNOR NOEM: Senator, the Secret 17 been a failure of this DHS along with multiple 18 Service is in need of dramatic reforms. They do 18 other issues on that. When we request the data 19 have a protective detail element that is their 19 for basic things like, how many special interest 20 priority and also an investigation side. My 20 aliens were allowed across the border. 21 understanding is that that investigation side is 21 If it was last year, we had to find out 22 often used to train the protective detailed 22 on our own. It was 70,000 people that were 23 officers, but clearly, they are not focusing on 23 targeted by this administration as a potential 24 what their true duty is, and it needs to get back 24 national security risk that were not just found 25 onto what they were created for and that was the 25 at the border that were released when they were Page 118 Page 120 1 protective detail, mission, and emergency 1 found at the border. 70,000 people just from 2 situations that they need to help plan and 2 last year in the country right now that this 3 administration declared at the border, they're a 3 prepare for and defend. SENATOR LANKFORD: Thank you. This 4 potential national security risk. Now, I know 5 committee made a request to the Secretary of 5 you're not going to do that, but when we ask for 6 Homeland Security last year, and by the way, also 6 the data and for the information, when we say, 7 the head of the FBI to be able to come before 7 "How's the National Vetting Center working?" Do 8 this committee and to do what every Secretary of 8 you have the connection to be able to screen 9 Homeland Security has done for the last 20 years, 9 individuals there? We're just doing our 10 every single year, unbroken until last year. And 10 oversight responsibility. You've served in 11 then the secretary refused to come before this 11 Congress before and did a great job on that and 12 did oversight. We want to still be able to do 12 committee in an open session and talk about 13 national threats. Now, the former Chairman 13 the same thing. Will you provide data to this 14 protested strongly to the Biden administration 14 committee so that we can cooperate with you to

15 and DHS, they weren't coming, but they still 16 refused to be able to come. Will you come before 17 this committee and talk about the threats openly 18 so the American people can hear them in a public 19 forum? 20 GOVERNOR NOEM: Yes. Senator, Senator 21 Peters, and I discussed this quite a bit in our 22 meeting as well, and I have committed to come and

23 give that briefing to this committee and to the

SENATOR LANKFORD: Thank you. We need

24 American people.

25

15 help? 16 GOVERNOR NOEM: Senator, I will follow 17 the law and be transparent with you and allow you 18 to do the due diligence towards oversight that 19 you're tasked with. 20 SENATOR LANKFORD: I have absolutely no 21 doubt about that, Governor. I have absolutely no 22 doubt, looking forward to you serving in that 23 role. 24 GOVERNOR NOEM: Thank you. 25 SENATOR LANKFORD: Thank you.

Page 121

1 GOVERNOR NOEM: Thank you.	1 who said that the pushiness, the coerciveness of
2 SENATOR PAUL: Well, congratulations,	2 government meeting with them was unprecedented
3 Governor Noem. You are almost done.	3 and that they pushed back. But he also said
4 GOVERNOR NOEM: Okay.	4 worse than them just sort of telling him he
5 SENATOR PAUL: We've been through a lot	5 should restrict speech; they also threatened him.
6 of questions. I think you've handled the	6 They threatened to come after him through
7 questions very well and I'm ask a couple of	7 antitrust law, they threatened to remove parts of
8 questions, and I think the ranking member has a	8 Section 230 of the liability protection.
9 few and I think we'll be done very shortly. I	9 Just to imagine this bully nature of
10 think a lot of Americans, including some	10 government, and I know you're opposed to that,
11 conservatives misunderstand the First Amendment.	11 but if you're confirmed and you're in a position
12 They think the First Amendment says that	12 of saying, "We're just no longer sending people
13 "Facebook has to publish my opinion," or, "The	13 to meet with media," and the way I describe it is
14 Wall Street Journal has to publish my opinion,"	14 to talk about constitutionally protected speech.
15 or "We need to force them to be fair." That's	15 Because some will say, "Oh, well, what about
16 not what the First Amendment's about at all.	16 pornography or what about child trafficking?"
17 The First Amendment really doesn't	17 Those are illegal. Those are not
18 apply to telling private companies what we can or	18 constitutionally protected speech. You have
19 cannot say. YouTube censored me and I despise	19 every ability to meet with that. But for
20 their policy. They actually took down speeches I	20 constitutionally protected speech, will you tell
21 made on the floor, but really, I don't have a	21 us in America that you will no longer be sending
22 legal recourse other than I can complain about	22 government agents to meet with the media?
23 YouTube being unfair and not hosting both sides	23 GOVERNOR NOEM: Yes, Senator. I'll
24 of an issue. However, with the government	24 work with you to ensure that civil rights and
25 though, there is a rule. The First Amendment	25 liberties are protected and that we are not in
Page 122	Page 124

1 specifically says, "Congress shall pass no law 2 banning or abridging speech," and this is what 3 really got us worried about what, not only the 4 FBI was doing, but the Department of Homeland 5 Security actually meeting with these companies. SENATOR PAUL: ... on a weekly basis. 7 And imagine the chilling effect of this, imagine 8 that there are cameras here, that they're going 9 to end their filming of this interview and then 10 decide, "Well, what she said or what he said 11 really was misinformation, and we should edit 12 that out." Can you imagine? It's just hard for 13 me to imagine that the media has not, which once 14 defended the First Amendment, hasn't been in more 15 of an uproar over the government meeting with the 16 media to decide things. Some of this we didn't 17 know, and then Elon Musk bought Twitter. People 18 asked him, they said, "Well, you've paid \$44 19 billion for Twitter. Isn't that too much?" And 20 he said, "I paid \$44 billion to defend free 21 speech." 22 And it's been an amazing service, not 23 only to open up the forum to more viewpoints, but 24 to point out what the government was doing. In

25 this last week, we heard from Mark Zuckerberg,

1 the misinformation and disinformation space like 2 the current DHS is. 3 SENATOR PAUL: The only other thing I 4 would ask on this basis is we will send requests, 5 we sent requests previously, sometimes, and often 6 bipartisan requests, for information. The 7 Twitter files, Michael Schellenberger, Matt 8 Taibbi, Bari Weiss did a great job of showing 9 what was happening in Twitter and how they were 10 cooperating with government. I think the other 11 investigation that needs to occur is who are the 12 people in government they were talking to? Do 13 they still work at DHS, and can we make sure that 14 they're not in a position of authority? 15 And this is not something I'm going to 16 tell you to do. It's just a request that you 17 have your own investigation, that you have people 18 who work for DHS to say, "We are going to look 19 for people who are bringing their political bias 20 to work and trying to influence speech and 21 restrict speech based on their bias and help us 22 in rooting that out and making sure that these 23 people never again have that responsibility." 24 Because I don't think there's ever been anything 25 like this as far as the restriction of speech,

Page 125

1 that spirit, I hope if confirmed that is exactly 1 and I think the election is largely going to stop 2 and tilt things the other way. But will you help 2 what you will be bringing to this office, and 3 us by looking internally for those who are trying 3 let's move away from this toxic political 4 to restrict speech? 4 environment that we have in the country and GOVERNOR NOEM: Senator, I look forward 5 celebrate what's great about our country in the 6 spirit of bringing the American people together. 6 to working with you on that mission. SENATOR PAUL: I don't have any other 7 So, I have one question before we turn 8 questions now, but I think Senator Peters and 8 it over to other members. As a member of this 9 Senator Blumenthal, and we'll see how it goes. 9 committee, as well as the Armed Services 10 We're going to start with Senator Peters with one 10 Committee, I've focused a great deal on the safe 11 more five-minute round. 11 integration of drones in our airspace while 12 SENATOR PETERS: Yeah, I'll be fairly 12 addressing the growing threats that drones 13 possess. We certainly see what drones are doing 13 brief. We've had opportunity to talk at length 14 about many issues, and again, I appreciate that, 14 in changing the face of warfare, whether it's in 15 Governor. I just want to stress going forward, 15 Ukraine and other battlefields around the world. 16 and we've heard a lot of comments here, I think 16 We are very concerned about the weaponization of 17 there's been a fair amount of political theater. 17 those drones and what it could mean to the 18 Not as much as I know exist in other committees, 18 security here in the United States. I've 19 and I've always strived, and I know ranking 19 proposed comprehensive legislation to extend 20 member or now Chairman Paul share the notion that 20 authorities beyond just the FBI and DOJ and 21 we want to be a fact-based committee and try to 21 Homeland Security to local law enforcement. 22 22 find tangible solutions to the tough problems You mentioned in your comments about 23 that we face, and data is important. We've heard 23 security for the Super Bowl, which is incredibly 24 a lot of numbers being thrown around here, and I 24 important, but we have to remember that that 25 don't have time to go through and challenge those 25 threat exists for all games. In fact, one of the Page 126 Page 128

1 numbers. Some of them we don't even know where
2 they came from. I don't think that's helpful to
3 the very important mission of confirm that you're
4 going to be dealing with. So, I hope in the
5 future, that we're actually dealing with facts.
6 You've mentioned many times that you do
7 want to deal with facts and real data. And
8 again, we heard a lot here that's not real data,
9 and we should not operate that way. And if
10 confirmed when we move forward, I'm going to look
11 forward to working with you based on the facts
12 and understand where the real threats are, how we
13 need to appropriate resources to make sure we're
14 meeting those threats

14 meeting those threats.

15 And let's take this hyper-partisanship
16 out of such an important issue of homeland
17 security. We have way too much partisanship in
18 this country, and it's resulted in a polarization
19 of people here. We've got to come together as
20 this country, we've got to lock arms and
21 understand that we're all proud Americans, we all
22 want to do what's best for the American people
23 and solve the issues that are before us.
24 So, in that spirit, and certainly

25 you've communicated that spirit to me, but in Pag

1 biggest supporters of my legislation is the NFL.2 In fact, we just had a recent playoff game that

3 was delayed because of drones that flew into that

4 playoff game. We are very concerned that you

5 could have a drone with a grenade or an explosive

6 device, which would be absolutely catastrophic.

7 It's absolutely essential that we address this

8 threat. What we're seeing around the world and

9 what we're seeing in daily activities should be a

10 concern. I think this is just a matter of time.

11 It's not if, it's when, and we need to be on the

12 front end of that.

And with that in mind, I want to remind folks that Congress just recently extended critical counter-UAS authority, counter-drone authority only for a short-time basis for the

17 12th time. We only do these little, tiny short-

18 term extensions, and we aren't dealing with the

19 problem comprehensively as we should, and those

20 A 1 141

20 are going to expire on March 14th, a very short

21 time from now. And so, my question for you,

22 Governor, is if confirmed as DHS Secretary, will

23 you commit to working with me and my colleagues

24 to pass durable, long-term authorities that will

24 to pass durable, long-term authornes that win

25 protect this country from what is a real threat,

1 and it's just a matter of time? And I don't want 1 GOVERNOR NOEM: Sure. 2 2 to have a horrible incident occur, and people SENATOR PETERS: So, it's data and 3 wonder why we didn't take action beforehand. So, 3 facts that we can all agree on that drive our 4 please address that. 4 policy and not political theater. Would you GOVERNOR NOEM: Senator, I look forward 5 agree? GOVERNOR NOEM: Well, certainly, sir. 6 to working with you and this committee to address 7 the threats we may face and the usage of drones 7 We need to be addressing facts and information 8 in this country in relation to our national 8 rather than political theater. We also need to 9 security interests and our homeland security 9 speak truth to facts. So, I think it's important 10 interests. So, thank you for bringing up the 10 that we're willing to confront our challenges 11 conversation today, because it is one of the 11 head on and have those conversations. And you'll 12 areas within DHS that we have a responsibility to 12 see me back at your office door very soon to 13 address in cooperation with Congress. 13 continue our work together. 14 SENATOR PETERS: And my first comments 14 SENATOR PETERS: Very good. Thank you. 15 on bringing people together, please comment on 15 SENATOR PAUL: And I want to second 16 that. 16 basically what Senator Peters has said. On 17 GOVERNOR NOEM: Oh, well, thank you, 17 records requests, I've told him, and I plan on 18 sir. Yes. no. 18 it, it's going to be administration of my party, SENATOR PETERS: I didn't ask that 19 that if he wants records and there are legitimate 20 question, but in my 24 seconds left. 20 records, we're going to sign requests together, 21 GOVERNOR NOEM: I'm looking forward to 21 and we'd like to get the records. It also helps, 22 working with everyone, Republicans and Democrats 22 though, and I think Senator Lankford mentioned 23 and everyone else in between, that in this 23 this, is you ask a question, not you, but to the 24 country that is focused on keeping America safe 24 administration or any administration, they're 25 and secure for our future. I would just point, 25 like, "Oh, yeah. We'll get back to you on it." Page 130 1 Senator, to my background and my history. When I 2 came to Congress, I worked with Republicans and 3 Democrats on both sides of the aisle on many 3 together, we ask in advance, "If you're coming in 4 pieces of legislation and was very happy to do so 5 and focus on priorities on where we could 6 agreement, knowing we may disagree on some 7 issues, but there was areas where we could keep 8 springing the question. If it's a technical 8 the federal government accountable and do due 9 diligence by the people that pay their taxes and 9 question that needs data, we're going to tell you 10 get up and go to work every single day. As 10 in advance, at least I will, and we want you to 11 governor, as well. I was governor for every 11 come prepared with that. 12 single person in the state of South Dakota, and 12 13 they were my number one priority, and everyone 14 knew there that it didn't matter if you were 15 Republican or Democrat, that my focus was on them 16 and keeping our state thriving and free. 16 money off, and nobody ever does that. But you'll 17 So, I look forward to continuing the 17 have 200,000 people working for you. By

18 work that I always have to be coming up with

19 solutions and in a bipartisan manner, and

20 hopefully, my visits to your office and

21 conversations reflected that and my intention on

22 how I would conduct the role as the Department of

23 Homeland Security Secretary.

SENATOR PETERS: Got a brief follow up 24

25 to that.

Page 131

- 1 Many times, I've even asked in advance, and I
- 2 would suggest that we ask you in advance
- 4 a month, we say we want this data. Be prepared
 - 5 to talk about it." And if you are, you'll have
- 6 many more friends on both sides because what
- 7 usually happens, and that's why I don't like

- And that goes a long way, because
- 13 really what happens is we get stiff-armed. They
- 14 say, "We'll get back to you," and we have no way
- 15 to force you, really, other than we could cut the

- 18 goodness, send your experts out, scour the
- 19 records. And it is true, facts are difficult,
- 20 and sometimes, there's different spins on the
- 21 same set of facts, but I think that will help.
- 22 On the drones, I think we need more
- 23 facts. So, I'm more than willing to work with
- 24 the ranking member on doing something on drones,
- 25 but I don't want every sheriff out there shooting

Page 133

- 1 up in the sky at stuff. We got to figure out and 2 we got to get the truth about do we really have 3 drones everywhere flying all the time? How many 4 of them are planes? How many of them are drones? 5 And let's go through this, and then let's figure 6 out, and then let's talk about how we bring 7 drones down. If we interrupt and collect a lot 8 of cellular signal through that, are we doing it 9 with a warrant? What are we going to do with all 10 the Americans' data that we've collected to take 11 down drones? If we have to take a whole cell 12 towers worth of data, there's a lot of innocent 13 people's data is going to be collected in that. 14 Is that being gotten rid of? So, I think there 15 are ways we can get to the right place. 16 Everybody, obviously nobody wants drones coming 17 down. 18 The only other thing I'd add on drones 19 before I turn it over to Senator Lankford is
- 20 look, I'm all for the NFL being protected and the 21 Super Bowl being protected. They need to pay. 22 They are a very rich organization. They want 23 drones flying over in New Orleans. I'm all for 24 it. The NFL ought to pay the government if the

Page 134

- 1 have felt like they've been sidelined, and
- 2 they've not been able to do their job that they
- 3 really signed up for. And what I'm hearing from
- 4 you is you're going to allow them to do their job
- 5 again, what has been historically true for a long
- 6 time, that federal law enforcement is there to
- 7 actually help protect the country and the
- 8 citizens and those communities, that you're going
- 9 to allow them to do that, and that's helpful.
- 10 So, I have two quick things that I want
- 11 to be able to mention on this. One is right now,
- 12 just in the structure of this, and we can talk
- 13 about this a different time, but CBP facilities
- 14 that are along the border are really run by a
- 15 different entity called GSA, and they're not
- 16 allowed to be able to do updates on their
- 17 facilities or to design their facilities.
- 18 Somebody who lives 3,000 miles away and who
- 19 doesn't actually do border patrol work, they
- 20 actually design and oversee their facilities.
- 21 That's a problem that we've got to be able to
- 22 fix.
- 23 So, we've worked to be able to give
- 24 more flexibility to CBP that when they have
- 25 difficulty and challenges there, they have the

Page 136

1 private contractors doing it, but they shouldn't

25 government's doing it, or we ought to have

- 2 just get it for free. Senator Lankford.
- SENATOR LANKFORD: Thank you. Thanks, 3
- 4 again. As Senator Paul will remember on this,
- 5 there used to be a public facing website that all
- 6 Americans could actually get the data, what's
- 7 happening on the border, what's actually moving,
- 8 and then when the numbers got bad, that seemed to
- 9 disappear, and then we couldn't even get the data
- 10 anymore. So, I look forward to actually finding
- 11 ways to be able to have everybody has the ability
- 12 to be able to see some of this data as well on
- 13 it.
- 14 There's a reason that the DHS Secretary
- 15 is the very first week of nominations. This is a
- 16 really important role, and it is a non-partisan
- 17 role. It is a national security role, and we're
- 18 grateful that you've stepped into this, but it is
- 19 important that we actually get you on the task to
- 20 be able to make sure that it's out there.
- 21 You mentioned earlier in your testimony
- 22 that we do have a morale problem at DHS right
- 23 now, and I think a lot of that is because people
- 24 that signed up to be federal law enforcement to
- 25 be able to protect the United States of America

- 1 ability to be able to make those changes. But
- 2 I'm not going to ask you to make a commitment to
- 3 this, because this is just one of those detail
- 4 areas, but will you commit in the future to
- 5 working with us, that this committee and you can
- 6 work together to be able to figure out how the
- 7 folks that are on the field can actually make
- 8 decisions about the facilities they work in?
- GOVERNOR NOEM: Yeah. Senator, I
- 10 commit to working with you on that issue.
- 11 SENATOR LANKFORD: Terrific. And then
- 12 I had a constituent in Oklahoma that is a hunter,
- 13 like you are, like I am. He had a bag that he
- 14 had some additional rounds that were in his bag
- 15 that were left over from a hunting trip months
- 16 before. He packed his bag, went on a vacation
- 17 trip overseas, went through security with his
- 18 bag. When he got overseas and then left and came
- 19 back, they scanned his bag and said, "You have
- 20 bullets, you have rounds in your bag," and he had
- 21 I think five that were in his bag, that he didn't
- 22 even remember were left over in an outside pocket
- 23 from a hunting trip before.
- 24 Well, they promptly put him in jail and
- 25 held him there and detained him there. Now, we

1 worked through all the process to be able to get 2 him back. My question is that same bag went 3 through TSA security in my state before it went 4 through security overseas. And so, one of the 5 questions that I've asked is why were those 6 rounds picked up there and not here? 6 Now, we don't have the full answer to 8 that yet, but that's just one of those TSA 9 questions that we need to have. Americans right 10 now are on planes all over the country, and they 11 count on a certain level of security when they go 12 through that process. So, in the days ahead, 13 will you work with me to be able to identify what 14 are the challenges that we still face with the 15 screening process and to be able to correct those 16 for the security of all Americans? 17 GOVERNOR NOEM: Yes, Senator, I will 17 18 work with you on that. SENATOR LANKFORD: Thank you. 19 20 GOVERNOR NOEM: I was surprised TSA 21 didn't come up more today, but that is an area in 22 need of reform as well, and I look forward to 23 working with you there. SENATOR LANKFORD: Look forward to 24 25 that. Thank you. I yield back. 25 antisemitism in this country. It has spiked Page 138

1 border security, generally. We know we need to 2 provide some kind of path to earn citizenship for 3 a lot of the undocumented people in this country, 4 and we know it's possible, because we did it in 5 2013. The United States Senate, as you will 7 recall, passed a comprehensive immigration reform 8 measure. Overwhelmingly, it was bipartisan. I 9 was proud to be a part of it, going through the 10 Judiciary Committee, but obviously it will 11 involve Homeland Security, and I hope that we can 12 continue, as Senator Lankford was a part of the 13 effort in the last session to expand on those 14 efforts and move forward on a bipartisan basis 15 toward bipartisan comprehensive immigration 16 reform. I want to talk to you a little bit 18 about domestic terrorism, which we discussed 19 during my previous round, and I know you've 20 discussed it afterward, including not just 21 migrant crime and radicalization by ISIS, which 22 are real and present problems, I also want to ask 23 you about domestic terrorism events unrelated to 24 groups outside our borders. We've seen a rise in

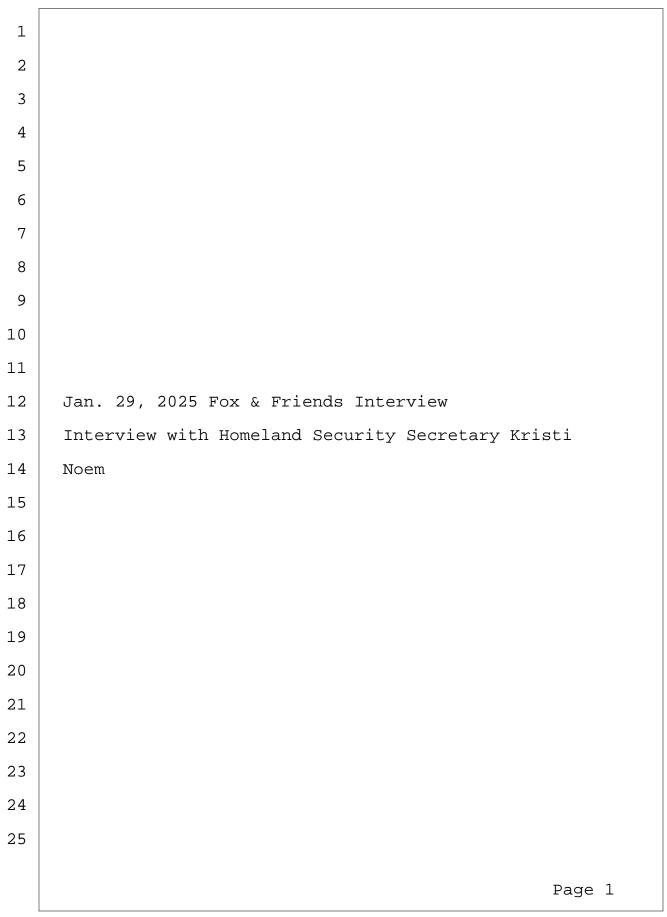
```
1
         SENATOR PAUL: Government needs a
 2 healthy dose of common sense. Bullets in your
 3 bag. I had a guy with bullets in the back of his
 4 pickup truck coming back from Mexico. We
 5 arrested him and took his truck, and only because
 6 the Institute of Justice fought for him for three
 7 years that he get his truck back. That's crazy,
 8 the things we do. Let's have some common sense,
 9 and hopefully, someone overseeing it will allow
10 that. Senator Blumenthal, you're going to finish
11 us up.
12
         SENATOR BLUMENTHAL: Thank you,
13 Chairman Paul. I'm the last of your questioners,
14 so that means I get unlimited amounts of time.
         GOVERNOR NOEM: Okay.
15
16
         SENATOR BLUMENTHAL: Not really. Not
17 even close. I want to sort of continue the
18 emphasis on bipartisanship and most especially on
19 immigration reform. What this nation needs is
20 comprehensive immigration reform. We know about
21 the need for more H-1B visas and other kinds of
22 extensions of the visa program that enable the
23 United States to have more workers that are
24 desperately needed in certain areas of our
25 country. We know that there has to be better
```

```
1 beyond any prediction, and I want to know of your
           2 concern with antisemitist, racist events,
           3 Charlottesville, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, there's a
           4 shorthand for these violent terrorist acts
           5 against people in the United States.
                    GOVERNOR NOEM: Yes, Senator, I'm very
           7 concerned about what we've seen in this country
           8 as far as antisemitic violence that has happened.
           9 In fact, last year during our legislative
          10 session, I brought legislation to more clearly
          11 define it so that we could fight it in our home
          12 state. And I'm hopeful I can work with you to
          13 continue to do what we can to make sure that we
          14 are addressing this rising threat and not
          15 facilitating it in this country.
                    SENATOR BLUMENTHAL: And I just want to
          17 make sure that when you say we're protecting
          18 Americans against terrorism, that we're
          19 protecting all Americans, including people in
         20 mosques, in churches, in synagogues, people
          21 regardless of their worship, their race, their
          22 background. We need to protect all Americans
          23 from antisemitism, racism, Islamophobia. I hope
          24 you'll commit to that effort.
          25
                    GOVERNOR NOEM: Yes, correct. Thank
Page 139
                                                               Page 141
```

1 you, Senator, and I look forward to working with	1 to keep families together. We will uphold our
2 you to do that.	2 law, and we'll make sure that we're doing
3 SENATOR BLUMENTHAL: In my closing	3 everything we can to keep our children safe from
4 minute-and-a-half, I just want to call your	4 the trafficking and the drug epidemic that's hit
5 attention to an effort that I've led to help	5 this country.
6 reunite children with their parents, children who	6 SENATOR BLUMENTHAL: I'm going to end
7 were separated as a result of the so-called	7 on an optimistic note and say I take that as a
8 family separation policy. In the last	8 yes.
9 administration, I have introduced a measure	9 GOVERNOR NOEM: Yeah.
10 called Keep Families Together, not only to limit	10 SENATOR BLUMENTHAL: Thank you, Mr.
11 separation of families at or near ports of entry,	11 Chairman.
12 but also the Families Belong Together Act for	12 SENATOR PAUL: Thank you for your
13 several Congresses to help bring the children,	13 testimony. The nominee has filed responses to
14 the kids who were victims of this policy and who	14 biographical and financial questionnaires,
15 still are not back with their parents. I hope	15 answered prehearing questions submitted by the
16 that you will support that kind of effort.	16 committee, and had their financial statements
17 GOVERNOR NOEM: Senator, the Trump	17 reviewed by the Office of Government Ethics.
18 administration never had a family separation	18 Without objection, this information will be part
19 policy. They had a zero-tolerance policy, which	19 of the hearing record with the exception of the
20 said that our laws would be followed. What I'm	20 financial data, which are on file and available
21 alarmed by is the over 300,000 children that went	21 for public inspection in the committee offices.
22 missing during the Biden administration. And	22 The hearing will remain open until 5:00 p.m.
23 when we talk about children and what they're	23 today, Friday, January 17th for the submission of
24 potentially facing as far as victimization in	24 statements and questions.
25 this country and the trafficking that's going on, Page 142	25 For the record, this hearing is Page 144
1 this administration's leak of desire to find out	1 adjourned.
1 this administration's lack of desire to find out2 where those children are or what they may be	2
	3
3 going through is alarming to me. So, I want to	4
4 stop that.	5
5 SENATOR BLUMENTHAL: Well, because my	6
6 time is expiring, I'm just going to interrupt	7
7 again with apologies to say let's put aside	8
8 GOVERNOR NOEM: Well, I can't put aside	
9 340,000 children.	9
10 SENATOR BLUMENTHAL: Let's put aside	10
11 the labels, let's put aside what happened in the	11
12 past. There are still a thousand children who	12
13 are separated and waiting to be reunited. I'd	13
14 like your commitment that you're going to	14
15 continue the effort to reunite them with their	15
16 parents.	16
17 GOVERNOR NOEM: Senator, keeping	17
18 families together is critically important to me	18
19 and to this country. I'm concerned about Laken	19
20 Riley's family, that they no longer have her.	20
21 I'm concerned about the fact that we have people	21
22 in this country that don't know where their	22
23 children are or people in other countries who	23
24 sent their children here and they've been lost by	24
25 this administration. So, yes, my focus will be	
Page 143	25 Page 145

3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14	CERTIFICATION I, Sonya Ledanski Hyde, certify that the foregoing transcript is a true and accurate record of the proceedings. Sanya M. dolandi: Hyde Veritext Legal Solutions 330 Old Country Road Suite 300 Mineola, NY 11501 Date: February 17, 2025	

Exhibit 18



MAN 1: Newly Admitted Homeland 1 1 against these ICE raids. I don't get it. But 2 Security Secretary Kristi Noem is hitting the 2 here's some of the comments from these Democratic 3 ground running, enforcing President Trump's 3 leaders. 4 immigration agenda. MAYOR BRANDON JOHNSON: Stand together 4 AINSLEY: Joining federal agencies here 5 firmly in our welcoming city status. The type of 6 in New York City, Noem says, "Among those 6 fear that this Administration is trying to 7 arrested, was the ringleader of that vicious 7 incite, we are demonstrating that we are going to 8 Venezuelan gang, Tren de Aragua." 8 protect the residents of this city. MAN 1: And now, she has a big 9 NEW YORK ATTORNEY GENERAL LETITIA 10 announcement. On additional measures, DHS is 10 JAMES: It is performative theater, and it's 11 ready to take in. This is a Fox & Friends 11 nothing more than shock and awe. 12 exclusive. 12 ILLINOIS GOVERNOR J.B. PRITZKER: Our MAN 2: That's right. So, Secretary 13 local law enforcement will stand up for those 14 Kristi Noem joins us right now. Madam Secretary, 14 law-abiding, undocumented people in our state. 15 good morning and congratulations. 15 MAN 3: Law-abiding. LAWRENCE: Welcome. 16 16 AINSLEY: The message that I'm hearing 17 KRISTI NOEM: Good morning. Thank you. 17 from them -- I know. The message I'm hearing 18 It's wonderful to be with all of you. 18 from them is, "We want to protect the rapist MAN 2: Okay. The exclusive 19 that's here illegally. We want to protect that 20 announcement is, we are withdrawing the 20 person that was arrested over the last few days 21 Venezuelan temporary status directive. What -- I 21 that has ties to ISIS. We want to protect the 22 remember when (indiscernible) through. What does 22 man who allegedly murdered his girlfriend who was 23 that mean? 23 pregnant and a mother of two." What does your --24 KRISTI NOEM: Well, before he left 24 why are they -- why do they have a problem with 25 town, (indiscernible) signed an order that said, 25 arresting these career criminals that are here Page 2 1 for 18 months, they were going to extend this 1 illegally? 2 protection to people that are in temporary KRISTI NOEM: They're completely out of 2 3 protected status, which meant they were going to 3 touch with the people in their cities and 4 be able to stay here and violate our laws for 4 communities. That's exactly what these Democrat 5 another 18 months and we stopped that. Today we 5 leaders are saying is, "We want to protect the 6 signed an executive order within the Department 6 cartels. We want to protect the gangs. We want 7 of Homeland Security in a direction that we were 7 to make sure that people continue to die from 8 not going to follow through on what he did to tie 8 guns, violence and drugs." And it's wrong and 9 our hands, that we are going to follow the 9 they're going to find out very soon that their 10 process, evaluate all of these individuals that 10 communities are not with them. 11 are in our country, including the Venezuelans 11 And listen, yesterday, we picked up one 12 of the ringleaders of TDA. He had just been a 12 that are here and members of TDA. Listen, I was 13 in New York City yesterday and the people of this 13 part of a gun -- weapons exchange and was trying 14 country want these dirt bags out. They want 14 to buy grenades. Why would anybody in this 15 their communities to be safe. It was so amazing 15 country need to buy a grenade and go out and 16 to me to see people walk by us on the street, 16 perpetuate violence? He was one of those that 17 early in the morning and just say, "Thank you. 17 was involved in Colorado, in Aurora, and we're so 18 Thank you for being here." So, this part of our 18 thankful we got him off the streets. And what 19 plan to make sure that we're protecting America, 19 I've continuously said to people is, you know, 20 keeping it safe again, just like President Trump 20 what do you say to Laken Riley's family? 21 promised. 21 LAWRENCE: That's right. 22 22 AINSLEY: There are some --KRISTI NOEM: We're going to sign that

Page 3

LAWRENCE: Some -- go ahead, Ainsley.

AINSLEY: Thank you, Lawrence. There's

25 some Democratic leaders that are pushing back

23

24

Page 5

Page 4

23 bill today into law. The President will, in the

25 criminals. But the President is taking action

24 Oval Office, to make sure we're going after these

1 and what was amazing is, you'll hear people and 1 judges, getting those kind of resources through 2 Democrat leaders in different cities, like New 2 Congress is important, to make sure we're not 3 York City, some of their City Council members 3 just securing the border, we're deporting these 4 have tried to attack what we're doing as far as 4 dangerous individuals, and then, fixing our 5 enforcing our laws. But the people on the 5 broken system. 6 streets are not with them. It was amazing to MAN 3: And also, legal work visas for 7 hear people and see them as they walked by taking 7 the construction industry. 8 their kids to school, going to work, just walk by KRISTI NOEM: Yes. 9 us and quietly say, "Thank you. Thank you for 9 MAN 3: And other things like that 10 being here." And it means the world to those 10 because there's people with great work ethics. 11 officers that are out there risking their lives 11 Real quick, what are you going to do with the 12 to bring safety back. 12 Venezuelans, the Cubans, when these countries LAWRENCE: So, Madam Secretary, you 13 don't want to take them back? You've got 607,000 14 guys -- your men and women and doing a fantastic 14 Venezuelans here. What do we do? 15 job. It's a dangerous job. Those fugitive task 15 KRISTI NOEM: Well, we have a fantastic 16 force, it's risky business. It's easy in the 16 Secretary of State in Secretary Rubio, and he has 17 sense, from a PR perspective, to get the 17 been doing incredible work. You know, the other 18 criminals. No-one wants, unless you're deranged, 18 night, I was talking to him on the phone at 1 19 want the criminals on the street, the violent 19 o'clock in the morning, and he was up and still 20 criminals. What I worry about is the PR when you 20 discussing negotiations with other countries and 21 guys go to the next layer, people that have 21 working with those people in these countries to 22 overstayed their visas or work doing other jobs. 22 do diplomatic relations. And the President 23 How do you guys overcome that? Because you've 23 clearly will exercise all the authority and power 24 been in politics for a long time. American 24 that he has to make these countries take them 25 people can be fickle. They support something at 25 back, so we --Page 6 Page 8 1 1 one point and then the news media puts a crying MAN 3: Are you ruling out Gitmo? 2 child or someone on TV and they change. So, how 2 KRISTI NOEM: Oh, yeah. We're 3 are you all going to handle that portion? 3 evaluating and talking about that right now. So, KRISTI NOEM: I think we keep talking 4 it's the President's decision, but it's an asset 5 to people and talk to them about the fact that 5 and we're going to continue to look at how we can 6 use all of our assets to keep America safe. 6 this is an America where justice is applied 7 equally. You know, we can't say that American 7 MAN 1: What a whirlwind it must have 8 citizens have to follow the law and then say that 8 bene for you over the last week or so. Krisi 9 people from the other countries don't have to. 9 Noem, Secretary of Homeland Security. 10 You know, we choose laws, we put them in place, 10 LAWRENCE: Congratulations, by the way. 11 Congress has the chance to change the law. But 11 MAN 1: Thank you very much. 12 until then, our job is to enforce it. And when 12 KRISTI NOEM: Thank you. 13 you want to live in a country where everybody's 13 MAN 3: She won over Democrats in our 14 treated the same and fairly and equally and has a 14 (indiscernible) 15 chance to live the American dream. So, we 15 LAWRENCE: That's exactly right. 16 understand that there are some families who have 16 17 been here illegally and have been perpetuating 17 18 that. That's a discussion that we're going to 18 19 have to continue to have and see if we can fix 19 20 our legal immigration system, as well. That's 20 21 one of my jobs is, you know, not only are we 21 22 going after those that are here illegally, but we 22

Page 9

3 (Pages 6 - 9)

23

24

25

Page 7

23 have to do due diligence and making sure we have

24 the resources to process paperwork in a timely

25 manner. And so, more immigration courts and

1 2	CERTIFICATION	
	Sonya Ledanski Hyde, certify that the	
4 fo	regoing transcript is a true and accurate	
	cord of the proceedings.	
6 7		
0.	A + C	
9 30	mya M. deslarati Hyd	
10 11 V	eritext Legal Solutions	
12 33	30 Old Country Road	
	uite 300	
14 M 15	lineola, NY 11501	
16 Da	ate: February 18, 2025	
17		
18 19		
20		
21 22		
23		
24		
25	Page 10	

Exhibit 19

Trump on Springfield Haitian migrants: 'They have to be removed'

- Springfield, Ohio, has seen an influx of Haitian migrants
- Immigrants living there under temporary protected status
- Trump has made false claims about Haitian immigrants eating pets



Damita Menezes, Ali Bradley

Updated: OCT 2, 2024 / 09:41 PM CDT

Not sure how to find NewsNation on your TV? **Find your channel here**. Get 24/7 fact-based unbiased news coverage with the **NewsNation app**.

Former President Donald Trump spoke with Ali Bradley, who leads NewsNation's daily coverage of the border. Follow $\underline{Ali \ on \ X}$ and $\underline{click \ here \ to \ download \ the \ NewsNation \ app}$ to see exclusive reporting from the border every day.

The Republican nominee was at a private fundraiser in Texas when he addressed the <u>situation in Springfield</u>, telling NewsNation border reporter Ali Bradley that 32,000 Haitian migrants had been relocated to a community of 52,000 residents.

Trump told NewsNation he believes Haiti would accept the migrants back under his leadership.

"It has nothing to do with Haiti or anything else. You have to remove the people, and you have to bring them back to their own country," he said.

"Springfield is such a beautiful place. Have you seen what's happened to it? It's been overrun. You can't do that to people. I'd revoke (the protected status), and I'd bring (the migrants) back to their country."

Voter Guide 2024: Breaking down the candidates, policies and issues

The comments come after Trump's running mate, Republican Ohio Sen. <u>JD Vance</u>, revisited false claims he made about <u>immigrants in Springfield</u>, <u>Ohio</u> eating pets, saying now he is "concerned for the American citizens" in the city.

"In Springfield, and communities across this country, you have schools that are overwhelmed, housing that is totally unaffordable because we brought in millions of illegal immigrants to compete with Americans for scarce homes," Vance said while debating Minnesota Gov. Tim Walz, his Democratic opponent, in the election's only vice presidential debate.

Trump calls Jack Smith filing 'pure election interference'

Enabling and protecting border law enforcement

The former president told NewsNation he would enable local law enforcement to execute what he calls the largest deportation in American history and potentially deploy military forces to <u>combat drug cartels.</u>

Trump said border agents "know everything about [migrants] ... they know the good ones, the bad ones, and they're going to get them out."

Addressing cartel violence along the southern border, Trump proposed a "military operation" to counter increasingly sophisticated tactics by Mexican drug organizations, which reportedly now employ drone jammers and have been found with rocket-propelled grenades and improvised explosive devices near the border.

"They're very rich, and they're very evil," Trump said of the cartels. "We're going to have to get in some military action. ... They're killing 300,000 people a year."

Exclusive: Mexican cartels using devices to disrupt U.S. drones

The <u>Sinaloa and Jalisco cartels</u> have established a sophisticated supply chain, sourcing precursor chemicals from China and manufacturing fentanyl in clandestine Mexican labs before smuggling it across the U.S. border, according to Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) reports.

Mexican drug cartels operating along the U.S.-Mexico border are <u>using electronic devices</u> to disrupt drones being used by U.S. border officials to track immigrants who crossed into the United States illegally, NewsNation learned.

In <u>September 2023</u>, Border Patrol agents in Texas discovered a backpack with what appeared to be cannonball-sized IEDs. It wasn't the first time the U.S. government had found potential explosive devices at the border.

In May 2023, <u>NewsNation reported</u> border officials recovered a rudimentary device created using an M&M container that was bound with electrical tape.

The former president also praised GOP Texas Governor Greg Abbott's border initiatives but maintained that border security ultimately requires federal action, stating, "All you have to do if you're the president is say to the Border Patrol and to the states, 'Nobody come in, it's closed.'"

Trump predicted he would win New Mexico because of the southern border. Trump lost the state in 2020 by about 11 points and in 2016 by about 8 points.

Houston teens carjack driver to smuggle migrants

How many people are crossing the border?

U.S. Border Patrol arrests along the Southwest border rose slightly from July to August but remained among the Biden administration's lowest monthly numbers.

According to U.S. Customs and Border Protection <u>data</u>, agents had 58,038 encounters between ports of entry in August, up from 56,399 in July.

The actual number of encounters at America's borders is expected to reach about 10 million by the end of the fiscal year, including repeat crossings and deportations.

These encounters include repeat crossings and deportations, which means the actual number of unique individuals entering the country is much lower.

Walz, Vance spar on immigration

One of Trump's key promises if reelected is to mount the <u>largest domestic deportation</u> in U.S. history. He made similar promises when he first ran for office, but during his administration, deportations never topped 350,000.

For comparison, then-President Barack Obama carried out 432,000 deportations in 2013, the highest annual total since records were kept.

This time, Trump has given some more specifics on his promises. He said he'll use the National Guard to round up migrants. And he said he would invoke the Alien Enemies Act, a 1798 law that allows the president to deport any noncitizen from a country that the U.S. is at war with.

He's also vowed to kick out hundreds of thousands of immigrants who have <u>entered the country</u> under two key Biden administration programs if he's reelected.

Any mass deportation plans would certainly be challenged in court and be enormously expensive to carry out. And it would depend on countries' willingness to take back their citizens.

Trump also said he would bring back policies he had put in place during his first term, like the Remain in Mexico program and Title 42. <u>Remain in Mexico</u> made migrants wait in Mexico while their asylum cases were heard, while Title 42 curbed immigration on public health grounds.

He has said he'll revive and expand a travel ban from his term that originally targeted citizens from seven Muslim-majority countries and pledged new "ideological screening" for immigrants to bar "dangerous lunatics, haters, bigots and maniacs."

Trump also seeks to end birthright citizenship for people born in the U.S. whose parents are both in the country illegally.

DHS increases time for new asylum regulations

Why is the border a top voter issue?

Making the border safer and other immigration-related issues remain among the biggest concerns for voters heading into the 2024 election. Trump has used the border as a backdrop for a series of campaign stops in recent months.

Trump has repeatedly criticized <u>President Joe Biden</u> and Harris, claiming that the president and his "border czar" are to blame for the steady amounts of migrants and for the trouble that Trump has alleged has come specifically from the illegal border crossings.

The president has countered with the effectiveness of his executive order, which led to a drop in the number of border encounters after a <u>record 250,000 encounters</u> were reported in December 2023 alone.

Political gridlock on border policy

In June 2024, <u>Biden released a series of executive actions</u> capping migrant crossing until border encounters remain consistently low — <u>under 2,500 per day</u> for an entire week — to give Border Patrol more time to handle each migrant's situation.

The president also <u>clarified his use of executive powers</u>, saying he was doing what Congress would not about a bipartisan immigration deal that failed in the Senate after Trump urged GOP lawmakers to vote against it.

NewsNation's Jeff Arnold and The Associated Press contributed to this report.

2024 ELECTION

Copyright 2025 Nexstar Media Inc. All rights reserved. This material may not be published, broadcast, rewritten, or redistributed.

TRENDING ON NEWSNATION

1 2 hours ago

Student Loans: Ed Dept pauses plan to garnish Social Security benefits

2

Grant Hardin believed to be in same area as prison escape

3 1 hour ago

Here are the celebrities named in Diddy's trial so far

4 2 hours ago

Boulder attacker charged with hate crime, attempted murder

5

Loretta Swit, who played Houlihan on TV series 'M.A.S.H.,' has died at 87

Who is Boulder attack suspect Mohamed Soliman?

MORE STORIES

BORDER REPORT 5 mins ago



3 charged in scheme to smuggle Pakistani, Peruvian, Mexican migrants

SPORTS HEADLINES 7 mins ago



Wander Franco trial: Rays star faces sexual abuse, human trafficking charges in Dominican Republic

AP U.S. NEWS 12 mins ago



Stabbing attack at Oregon homeless shelter sends 11 people to hospital, man in custody



Trial for Tampa Bay Rays shortstop Wander Franco begins in Dominican Republic



Top Trump officials visit prolific Alaska oil field amid push to expand drilling





U.S. 28 mins ago



Nadler demands congressional investigation into DHS detention of staffer

IMMIGRATION 30 mins ago



DHS revamps ICE tip line after Colorado attacks

39 mins ago **SPORTS**



Longtime WWE wrestler announces release from company

CRIME 48 mins ago

Secret recording leads to Fla. 13-year-old's rescue: sheriff



AP U.S. NEWS 47 mins ago

Suspect posed as a gardener in Boulder attack and planned to kill all in group he called 'Zionist'



SOUTHEAST 50 mins ago

Woman attacked with hot coffee at hotel, police make arrest



U.S. 55 mins ago

Schumer vows to fight GOP megabill 'with everything we've got'



POLITICS 1 hour ago

Why Ronna McDaniel wants to make Michigan 'reliably red'



ease?



SPORTS HEADLINES 2 hours ago

Journalism opens as the Belmont favorite. Kentucky Derby winner Sovereignty is the 2nd choice



EDUCATION 2 hours ago

Student Loans: Ed Dept pauses plan to garnish Social Security benefits



AP U.S. NEWS 2 hours ago

Supreme Court to hear private prison company appeal in suit over immigration detainee \$1-a-day wages



ENTERTAINMENT

Selena Gomez's net worth could be just short of \$1B



a predatory teacher

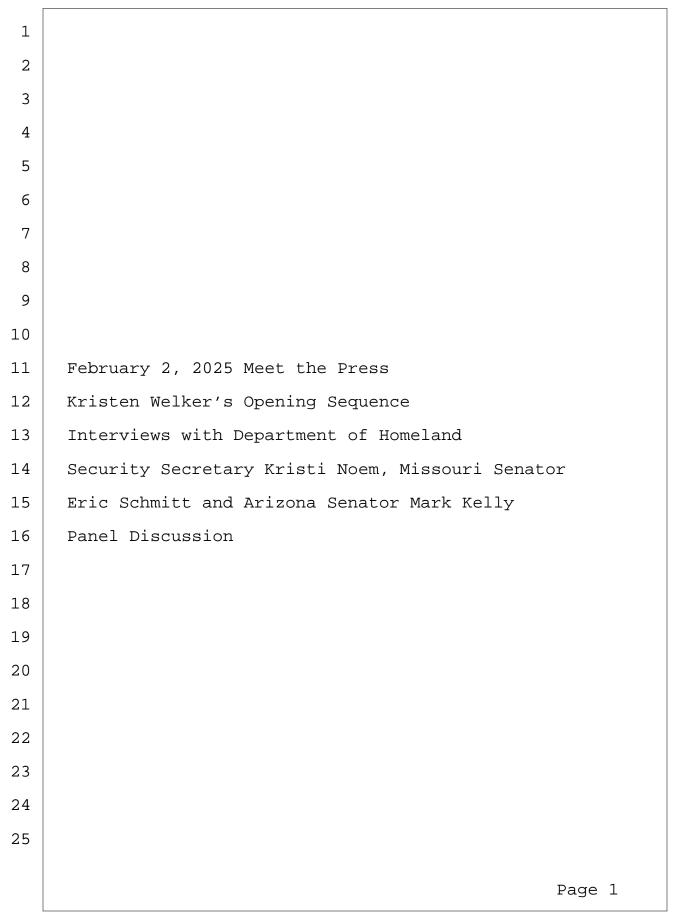


AP U.S. NEWS

Romanian man pleads guilty to 'swatting' plot that targeted an ex-US president and lawmakers



Exhibit 21



1 1 ANNOUNCER: From NBC News in KRISTEN WELKER: This Sunday: Trump's 2 tariffs. President Trump issues tariffs on 2 Washington, the longest-running show in 3 television history, this is Meet the Press with 3 America's largest trading partners, threatening 4 Kristen Welker. 4 to drive up prices for American consumers. 5 Mexico and Canada swiftly vowing to retaliate. KRISTEN WELKER: Good Sunday morning. 6 After just two weeks in office, President Trump PRIME MINISTER JUSTIN TRUDEAU: Tariffs 7 against Canada will put your jobs at risk. They 7 is waging battles across the globe and inside his 8 own government. Overnight, he imposed tariffs on 8 will raise costs for you. KRISTEN WELKER: Is this the start of a 9 America's three largest trading partners. They 10 global trade war? Plus: searching for answers. 10 are already hitting back, raising fears of a 11 trade war. The president is also facing the 11 JENNIFER HOMENDY: We are going to 12 first crisis of his second term in office: the 12 conduct a thorough investigation of this entire 13 tragedy looking at the facts. 13 worst aviation disaster in a generation, after an 14 Army Black Hawk helicopter and American Airlines 14 KRISTEN WELKER: As federal 15 plane crashed above Washington. There were no 15 investigators hunt for answers in the deadly 16 plane crash over the Potomac River, President 16 survivors and 67 people died in the crash. On 17 Thursday, after a moment of silence, President 17 Trump shifts to blaming diversity policies, air 18 traffic controllers and his political rivals. 18 Trump pivoted to politics, suggesting without 19 evidence that diversity and inclusion policies 19 PRES. DONALD TRUMP: I put safety 20 contributed to the crash. 20 first. Obama, Biden and the Democrats put policy 21 21 first. [BEGIN TAPE] 22 PRES. DONALD TRUMP: The FAA is 22 SEC. SEAN DUFFY: We can only accept 23 the best and the brightest. 23 actively recruiting workers who suffer severe 24 intellectual disabilities, psychiatric problems SEC. PETE HEGSETH: The era of DEI is 25 and other mental and physical conditions under a 25 gone at the Defense Department. Page 2 Page 4 1 KRISTEN WELKER: And cabinet battles. 1 diversity and inclusion hiring initiative spelled 2 out on the agency's website. Can you imagine? 2 ROBERT F. KENNEDY JR.: Senator, I 3 REPORTER: You have, today, blamed the 3 support vaccines. SEN. MICHAEL BENNET: This is a job 4 diversity element, but then told us that you 4 5 where it is life and death. 5 weren't sure that the controllers made any 6 SEN JAMES LANKFORD: Was Edward Snowden 6 mistake. You then said perhaps the helicopter 7 pilots were the ones who – 7 a traitor? 8 PRES. DONALD TRUMP: Yeah. 8 TULSI GABBARD: My heart is with my 9 REPORTER: -- made the mistake -9 commitment to our constitution. 10 PRES. DONALD TRUMP: It's all under 10 KASH PATEL: I would never do anything 11 investigation. 11 unconstitutional or unlawful. REPORTER: I understand that. That's 12 KRISTEN WELKER: President Trump's most 12 13 controversial nominees face off on Capitol Hill, 13 why I'm trying to figure out how you can come to 14 but will they all be confirmed? My guests this 14 the conclusion right now that diversity had 15 morning: Homeland Security Secretary Kristi Noem, 15 something to do with this crash. PRES. DONALD TRUMP: Because I have 16 16 Republican Senator Eric Schmitt of Missouri and 17 Democratic Senator Mark Kelly of Arizona. 17 common sense, okay? And unfortunately, a lot of 18 people don't. 18 Joining me for insight and analysis are NBC News 19 [END TAPE] 19 Senior White House Correspondent Kelly O'Donnell, 20 NBC News Chief Capitol Hill Correspondent Ryan 20 KRISTEN WELKER: According to the FAA 21 and other aviation groups, all candidates seeking 21 Nobles, Marc Short, former director of 22 legislative affairs to President Trump and former 22 to become air traffic controllers and pilots have 23 to go through years of rigorous training and 23 Democratic Congresswoman Stephanie Murphy of 24 testing, and meet the same exceedingly high 24 Florida. Welcome to Sunday. It's Meet the 25 standards. As Washington was responding to the 25 Press.

Page 3

Page 5

2 (Pages 2 - 5)

1 tragedy, President Trump's three most vulnerable 1 PRES. DONALD TRUMP: No. 2 cabinet picks were testifying on Capitol Hill. 2 [END TAPE] 3 Now, multiple sources tell NBC News there is 3 KRISTEN WELKER: Canadian Prime 4 growing concern in the White House and among 4 Minister Justin Trudeau firing back. 5 Republicans that Tulsi Gabbard's nomination for [BEGIN TAPE] 5 6 director of national intelligence could be in PRIME MINISTER JUSTIN TRUDEAU: I want 7 serious trouble after her confirmation hearing in 7 to speak directly to Americans, our closest 8 which she didn't directly answer whether Edward 8 friends and neighbors. This is a choice that 9 Snowden, who leaked government secrets, is a 9 yes, will harm Canadians but beyond that, it will 10 traitor. 10 have real consequences for you. It will raise 11 [BEGIN TAPE] 11 costs for you, including food at the grocery 12 SEN. JAMES LANKFORD: Was he -- was he 12 store, gas at the pump. They will impede your 13 a traitor at the time when he took America's 13 access to an affordable supply of vital goods, 14 secret to release them in public and then ran to 14 crucial for U.S. security. 15 China and became a Russian citizen? 15 [END TAPE] TULSI GABBARD: Senator, I'm focused on 16 KRISTEN WELKER: All of this comes as 17 the future and how we can prevent something like 17 the president is ramping up his deportation 18 this from happening again. 18 efforts. And joining me now from the border in SEN. MICHAEL BENNET: Was Edward 19 19 Del Rio, Texas is Homeland Security Secretary 20 Snowden a traitor to the United States of 20 Kristi Noem. Secretary Noem, welcome back to 21 America? 21 Meet the Press. 22 TULSI GABBARD: Senator, I will also 22 SEC. KRISTI NOEM: Thank you. Thank 23 repeat my answer. He broke the law. 23 you for inviting me to be with you today, SEN. MICHAEL BENNET: Yes or no? Is 24 Kristen. 25 Edward Snowden a traitor to the United States of 25 KRISTEN WELKER: Thank you so much for Page 6 Page 8 1 being here, madam secretary. We are going to 1 America? 2 talk about the border, the deportation plan in 2 TULSI GABBARD: As someone who -3 SEN. MICHAEL BENNET: -- I'll go on to 3 just a moment. I do have to start by talking 4 my questions – 4 about the breaking news overnight, the president TULSI GABBARD: -- has worn our uniform 5 officially announcing the new tariffs against 6 in combat, I understand how critical our national 6 Canada, Mexico, and China, saying he wants those 7 security is -7 countries to do more to crack down on illegal 8 SEN. MICHAEL BENNET: Apparently, you 8 immigration and drug trafficking. The three 9 don't. 9 countries are all slamming the move. They're 10 10 vowing retaliatory strikes. Is the United States [END TAPE] 11 KRISTEN WELKER: White House officials 11 now in a trade war? 12 insist President Trump is standing by Gabbard. 12 SEC. KRISTI NOEM: You know, these 13 Meanwhile, there have been a dizzying number of 13 countries have an opportunity to get onboard with 14 actions this week, as President Trump halted 14 the president of the United States and to partner 15 federal funding and then reversed course amid a 15 with us to deal with illegal immigration, to take 16 legal challenge, fired dozens of career 16 back their individuals that have been in our 17 prosecutors inside the Justice Department and 17 country illegally. We want to repatriate them 18 forced out FBI senior executives. And officially 18 home. And they can be partners. So 19 on Saturday imposed tariffs on America's largest 19 economically, yes, they will feel -- they will 20 trading partners: Mexico, Canada and China. 20 feel pain. They will feel what this consequences 21 [BEGIN TAPE] 21 are, and we'll be able to continue to go forward 22 KELLY O'DONNELL: Is there anything 22 with a president who's strong, who's putting 23 China, Canada and Mexico can do tonight to 23 America first.

Page 7

24 forestall your implementation of tariffs

25 tomorrow?

25 stress that point that I made which is the Page 9

3 (Pages 6 - 9)

KRISTEN WELKER: You know, let me just

24

- 1 president cites stopping the flow of fentanyl and
- 2 undocumented migrants for reasons for these
- 3 tariffs. And yet, madam secretary, Canada is not
- 4 a major source of fentanyl coming into the United
- 5 States. It's frankly minuscule compared to what
- 6 is seized at the southern border. Why is the
- 7 United States punishing Canada, one of its
- 8 closest allies, more than China, where fentanyl
- 9 originates?
- 10 SEC. KRISTI NOEM: Canada has some work
- 11 to do as far as helping us secure our northern
- 12 border. So we still know we're extremely
- 13 vulnerable across that northern border, that we
- 14 have people coming into our country from China,
- 15 from foreign countries. We have people on the
- 15 from foreign countries. We have people on a
- 16 terrorist watchlist that come in over our
- 17 northern border. And in fact what we have sent a
- 18 message this week on is that we're not just going
- 19 to enforce our southern border. We're going to
- 20 put extra resources, resources at that northern
- 21 border as well. So Canada needs to come to the
- 22 table. They need to work with us to make sure
- 23 that not only can we be good neighbors but that
- 24 we can help each other's economies by getting in
- 25 line and making sure that our immigration

Page 10

- 1 what he is going to do and what the consequences
- 2 are. I encourage their leadership teams to get
- 3 onboard and to make sure that they're not pushing
- 4 up prices. If prices go up, it's because of
- 5 other people's reactions to America's laws. And
- 6 that's what President Trump is doing. He is
- 7 making sure that we're not picking and choosing
- 8 winners and losers, that the law applies equally
- 9 to everybody, American citizens. It applies to
- 10 those who are here illegally. And our world
- 11 leaders across the country and across the world,
- 12 they can help us, or they're going to face some
- 13 consequences.
- 14 KRISTEN WELKER: Okay, so notable, you
- 15 are acknowledging it is possible that prices
- 16 could, at least initially, go up. Secretary
- 17 Noem, let me shift now to the southern border,
- 18 where you are. Let's talk about the
- 19 administration's mass deportation plans. There
- 20 are a lot of questions about the announcement
- 21 this week that Guantanamo Bay will be used as a
- 22 detention facility for migrants. Will people
- 23 held at Guantanamo have the same due process
- 24 rights and access to attorneys that they have
- 25 here in the United States?

Page 12

- 1 policies are followed, and that those that are
- 2 dangerous criminals face consequences. The
- 3 president has been very clear from the beginning
- 4 that there's a new sheriff in town, that he's
- 5 going to make sure he's putting Americans first,
- 6 and that Canada can help us or they can get in
- 7 the way, and they will face the consequences of 8 it.
- 9 KRISTEN WELKER: As you know, Madam
- 10 Secretary, economists all across the board are
- 11 warning that ultimately tariffs lead to higher
- 12 prices for consumers and that these tariffs in
- 13 particular could see prices increase on food,
- 14 electronics, and cars. The president himself
- 15 acknowledging this morning these tariffs could
- 16 cause, quote, "some pain." How is this move
- 17 helping President Trump fulfill his campaign
- 18 promise to lower prices?
- 19 SEC. KRISTI NOEM: You know, you've
- 20 seen the president take action already this week
- 21 with Colombia. And you saw Colombia react in a
- 22 very positive way that was good for everyone
- 23 involved. Canada, Mexico, other countries have
- 24 the opportunity to do exactly the same. So we
- 25 have a strong leader. He has laid down exactly

- 1 SEC. KRISTI NOEM: Yes, due process
- 2 will be followed and having facilities at
- 3 Guantanamo Bay will be an asset to us in the fact
- 4 that we'll have the capacity to continue to do
- 5 there what we've always done. We've always had a
- 6 presence of illegal immigrants there that have
- 7 been detained. We're just building out some
- 8 capacity. So we appreciate the partnership of 9 the DOD in getting that up to the level that it
- 10 needs to get to in order to facilitate this
- 11 repatriation of people back to their countries.
- 12 So remember that Guantanamo Bay clearly, by this
- 13 president, has said that it will hold the worst
- 14 of the worst, that we are going after those bad
- 15 actors. This last week, I was in New York City.
- 16 We were going after people that had warrants out
- 17 for their arrest on murders and rapes, assaults,
- 18 gun purchases, drug trafficking. In fact we had
- 19 a member of TDA that was one of the ringleaders
- 20 that we picked up that that week, had been trying
- 21 to buy grenades. These are the types of
- 22 individuals that we are targeting, we're removing
- 23 from communities, and that could end up having a
- 24 stay at Guantanamo Bay before they are returned
- 25 home to their countries to deal with.

Page 13

```
KRISTEN WELKER: Yeah.
 1
         KRISTEN WELKER: Is it possible, Madam
                                                         1
                                                         2
 2 Secretary, that people could be held at
                                                                  SEC. KRISTI NOEM: -- what happens when
 3 Guantanamo Bay indefinitely?
                                                         3 they break the law and how they are returned to
         SEC. KRISTI NOEM: That is not the
                                                         4 their countries. I've been extremely grateful
 5 plan. The plan is to have a process that we
                                                         5 for Secretary of State Marco Rubio's work with
 6 follow that's laid out in law and make sure that
                                                         6 these countries to negotiate and use diplomacy to
 7 we're dealing with these individuals
                                                         7 ensure that they are going to be taking
 8 appropriately according to what the state and the
                                                         8 individuals back not just from their country but
 9 national lawsuit -- or law directs. So we will
                                                         9 surrounding countries so that we can immediately
10 work with Congress to make sure that we're
                                                        10 take action to return them far from the United
                                                        11 States, which dramatically increases the
11 addressing our legal immigration laws and using
12 Guantanamo Bay appropriately. But it is an asset
                                                        12 likelihood that they're not going to come back.
                                                                  KRISTEN WELKER: Let me ask you, I've
13 that we have that we fully intend to utilize.
14
         KRISTEN WELKER: Could women, children, 14 been talking to people who are here legally and
15 and families be held there at Guantanamo?
                                                        15 they have expressed concerns. They say they are
         SEC. KRISTI NOEM: You know, if you
                                                        16 carrying, in some cases, their documents around
17 look at what we are doing today of targeting the
                                                        17 with them. Some of them are afraid to go to
                                                        18 churches because ICE agents are now going into
18 worst of the worst, we've been very clear on
19 that. The priority of this president is to go
                                                        19 churches and schools to carry out these
20 after criminal aliens that are making our streets
                                                        20 deportation operations. Do people who are here
21 more dangerous.
                                                        21 legally need to be carrying around paperwork?
22
                                                        22 And can you guarantee that people who are here
         KRISTEN WELKER: But --
23
         SEC. KRISTI NOEM: After that, we have
                                                        23 legally won't be wrongfully detained?
                                                                  SEC. KRISTI NOEM: Kristen, I would say
24 final removal orders on many individuals in this
                                                        24
25 country. They are the next priority, and we'll
                                                        25 that if I've heard that expressed by people that
                                                Page 14
                                                                                                         Page 16
 1 continue to work through --
                                                         1 are legal citizens of the United States, it's
 2
         KRISTEN WELKER: But --
                                                         2 because the media has perpetuated that fear. The
 3
         SEC. KRISTI NOEM: -- people that are
                                                         3 media has said that that's a possibility.
 4 breaking the law, that are in danger to these
                                                         4 There's nothing from this administration, from
 5 communities, and use the detention centers that
                                                         5 President Trump or from any of the law
 6 we have set up in order to facilitate this in an
                                                         6 enforcement individuals in these communities,
 7 orderly way.
                                                         7 that has said that they need to walk around and
                                                         8 be concerned about that at all. We -- the
         KRISTEN WELKER: But I guess, Madam
 9 Secretary, my question, would you rule out that
                                                         9 citizens of the United States are confident that
10 women, that children, that families could be held
                                                        10 finally, after four long years of having a
11 at Guantanamo Bay? Do you rule that out?
                                                        11 president in the White House that ignored federal
12
         SEC. KRISTI NOEM: You know, Kristen,
                                                        12 law and endangered their communities, that
13 we're going to use the facilities that we have.
                                                        13 there's a different man in charge now. There's a
14 I think you're well aware we have other detention
                                                        14 man in charge who loves this country, is going to
15 facilities other places in the country. So we
                                                        15 help make their communities safer. And these
16 will utilize what we have according to what's
                                                        16 citizens that live here are thrilled. In fact,
17 appropriate for the individuals that we have gone
                                                        17 when I was in New York City earlier this week and
18 out on these targeted operations with local law
                                                        18 ---
                                                        19
19 enforcement and task forces to make sure that
                                                                  KRISTEN WELKER: Yeah.
20 they're being brought in, they're not paroled
                                                        20
                                                                  SEC. KRISTI NOEM: -- in several cities
21 anymore --
                                                        21 since then, the people walking by us on the
22
         KRISTEN WELKER: Yeah.
                                                        22 streets were thanking our officers. They were
23
         SEC. KRISTI NOEM: -- onto our streets,
                                                        23 thanking these investigators and those that were
                                                        24 taking these dangerous criminals out for being
24 that we're keeping America safe, and that we're
25 following the process for --
                                                        25 there, for making sure that they could walk their
                                                                                                         Page 17
                                                Page 15
```

- 1 kids to school with a new confidence that they
- 2 could get there safely and that they could do
- 3 business and have their community back.
- 4 KRISTEN WELKER: Secretary Noem, let me
- 5 ask you about the news that you made overnight,
- 6 DHS officially making the decision to end
- 7 Temporary Protected Status. For our audience,
- 8 that means, applies to about half a million
- 9 Venezuelans. They no longer have protection from
- 10 deportation. These are people who were welcomed
- 11 here. They did everything by the books. Why
- 12 should they be subject to deportation? Just very
- 13 quickly.
- 14 SEC. KRISTI NOEM: Well, the TPP
- 15 program has been abused, and it doesn't have
- 16 integrity right now. And folks from Venezuela
- 17 that have come into this country are members of
- 18 TDA. And remember, Venezuela purposely emptied
- 19 out their prisons, emptied out their mental
- 20 health facilities and sent them to the United
- 21 States of America. So we are ending that
- 22 extension of that program, adding some integrity
- 23 back into it. And this administration's
- 24 evaluating all of our programs to make sure they
- 25 truly are something that's to the benefit of the

Page 18

- 1 note. I want to start by talking about this
- 2 horrific plane crash here in the nation's
- 3 capital. It claimed 67 lives. I know that you
- 4 have been paying close attention to this
- 5 investigation. President Trump, for his part
- 6 came out, he held a news conference, started with
- 7 a moment of silence, quickly shifted to politics,
- 8 including blaming diversity programs for the
- 9 crash. Do you believe that President Trump runs
- 10 the risk of getting ahead of the facts by drawing
- 11 conclusions that he himself says he has no
- 12 evidence that diversity programs played a role?
- 13 SEN. ERIC SCHMITT: Well, the first
- 14 thing I want to say is that our thoughts and
- 15 prayers are with the families. This is going to
- 16 be a long road for them. As everyone knows, this
- 17 is a nightmare. You know, you take a loved one
- 18 to the airport, you never expect this to happen,
- 19 you know, the last time you ever see that person.
- 20 And so, I don't want -- we'll talk about all
- 21 that, but the human tragedy here is something
- 22 that's gut-wrenching for those families. My
- 23 prayers, my family's prayers are with them, and I
- 24 know the country wants to wrap their arms around
- 25 them too. They deserve a full investigation, and

- 1 United States, so that they're not to the benefit 2 of criminals.
- 3 KRISTEN WELKER: Homeland Security
- 4 Secretary Kristi Noem, thank you so much. I know
- 5 it's been a busy week. I know you've also been
- 6 very engaged in the investigation into --
- 7 SEC. KRISTI NOEM: Yeah.
- 8 KRISTEN WELKER: -- the horrific crash
- 9 here. We appreciate your joining us. Thank you
- 10 so much.
- 11 SEC. KRISTI NOEM: Yeah. Thank you so
- 12 much. We're praying for their families,
- 13 absolutely.
- 14 KRISTEN WELKER: Thank you, Madam
- 15 Secretary. When we come back, Republican Senator
- 16 Eric Schmitt of Missouri joins me next.
- 17 (Break)
- 18 KRISTEN WELKER: Welcome back. And
- 19 joining me now is Republican Senator Eric Schmitt
- 20 of Missouri. Senator Schmitt, welcome back to
- 21 Meet the Press.
- SEN. ERIC SCHMITT: It's great to be
- 23 with you, Kristen.
- 24 KRISTEN WELKER: Well, it is great to
- 25 have you back. I do have to start on a somber
 - Page 19

- 1 I think we've learned a few things already. But
- 2 as it relates specifically to the president's
- 3 comments, this is nothing new, Kristen. This
- 4 idea of emphasizing DEI across the federal
- 5 government has real ramifications. The president
- 6 said and as you just mentioned, not related
- 7 specifically, we don't know, the investigation
- 8 will find out. But broadly speaking, DEI is
- 9 poison. It's hurt recruiting, it's hurt hiring, 10 it's hurt retention. The hours spent on these
- 11 struggle sessions during training is hours you
- 12 don't spend on safety. And that's just a fact.
- 13 And it's evidenced by the fact that 1,000 people
- 14 sued the air traffic control for not being hired
- 17 Succe the third control for not being fine
- 15 because of their race. It's evidenced by the
- 16 fact that you have also people who were fired
- 17 from air traffic controls, and pilots for not
- 18 taking the Covid shot. And then, you know, the
- 19 government then, of course, makes it a priority
- 20 to hire 87,000 IRS agents to roam across the
- 21 country and harass Americans. So this has
- 22 become, Kristen, an obsession. And in the
- 23 commerce committee, if you paid any attention —
- 24 (INAUDIBLE) that I've had, other members have
- 25 had, to put these policies (INAUDIBLE) exactly Page 21

2 political points by doing it, but it has real 2 biggest trading partners: Mexico, Canada, and 3 ramifications on the workforce. 3 China. Can you guarantee, Senator, that these KRISTEN WELKER: Just very quickly, I 4 tariffs won't drive up prices? 5 mean, we have to point out that the FAA, aviation SEN. ERIC SCHMITT: All we have to do 6 groups, say that every pilot, every air traffic 6 is look at President Trump's first four years 7 controller has to pass the same rigorous test. 7 where he institutes tariffs. We didn't see 8 They have to meet exceedingly high standards. 8 inflation. In fact, we saw record wage growth. 9 But bottom line, Senator, what I'm asking you, do 9 We saw \$200 billion plus go into the Treasury 10 you have any evidence whatsoever that diversity 10 from those tariffs. Tariffs that help even the 11 programs played a role in this crash? Because 11 playing field with countries who have been 12 ripping us off, quite frankly, for generations. 12 the President said he doesn't. 13 China, specifically. I think the American people SEN. ERIC SCHMITT: Well, no one has 14 said that. But I do think if you want to find a 14 are tired of being ripped off. They're tired of 15 solution you have to be honest about the problem. 15 seeing their jobs go overseas. But I think these 16 tariffs specifically, Kristen, are meant to bring 16 And the truth is, merit has taken a backseat to 17 quotas. That's the truth --17 Canada and Mexico to the table for the fentanyl 18 that is streaming into our communities. It's 18 KRISTEN WELKER: But Senator, we don't 19 also worth noting, in the last four years, that 19 know that's the problem in this case-20 SEN. ERIC SCHMITT: No, no. 20 the trade imbalance and our trade deficit has 21 KRISTEN WELKER: We don't know that 21 gone up 200 percent plus with Canada and up 52 22 percent with Mexico. The fact is these countries 22 that's the problem in this instance-23 SEN. ERIC SCHMITT: I know. But 23 are taking advantage of us. All along the while 24 we've got fentanyl streaming into our country. 24 Kristen, Kristen we can distinguish the 25 So Mexico has a choice. They can choose to trade 25 investigation in this case versus writ large. Page 22 1 It's also true in our military. Pete Hegseth is 2 going to get rid of DEI in the military. It's 2 with the cartels. It's pretty simple. 3 divisive, it's hurt recruiting. The same is true 3 4 across the government. People don't want to sit 4 President Trump's first term. It's worth noting 5 through these struggle sessions with this race 5 that during his first term a number of prices did 6 essentialism. And by the way, the federal 7 tires. You mention Canada. Very little fentanyl 7 government is being sued for discriminating 8 against certain employees because of their race. 9 So this is a fact of the matter. It's true. And 10 the one thing people care about is they want to 11 get from here to there safely. I don't care, and 11 right? 12 Americans don't care the race of the pilot, or 12 13 somebody in the tower, or their religion, or 13 is growing, though, Kristen. I think it's 14 their gender. They just want the best people, 14 important, especially in the last year--15 and that is what we have to get back to in the

17 KRISTEN WELKER: Alright. Let's, as 18 you say, your thoughts and prayers are with the

19 families right now. I think that certainly is

1 what they've done. And they try to score

- 20 something that everyone can agree with. I do

- 21 want to move on--

16 country.

- 22 SEN. ERIC SCHMITT: Absolutely--
- 23 KRISTEN WELKER: --to tariffs, this
- 24 breaking news overnight. President Trump, as you
- 25 know, won in part on a vow to bring down prices.

Page 23

- 1 with the United States or continue to cozy up
- KRISTEN WELKER: But you talk about

1 He's now imposing tariffs on the country's three

- 6 go up on various goods from washing machines and
- 8 is coming across the border from Canada. Why is
- 9 the President punishing Canada more than China,
- 10 the country's adversary? Do you think that's
- SEN. ERIC SCHMITT: Well, that number

- 15 KRISTEN WELKER: -But it's minuscule
- 16 right now. It's miniscule right now.
- 17 SEN. ERIC SCHMITT: But it's growing.
- 18 It's growing. And when they have a porous
- 19 border, and they don't seem very concerned at
- 20 all-- and by the way, I heard the clip earlier,
- 21 Justin Trudeau sort of lecturing Americans. My
- 22 advice to him is, he probably ought to talk to
- 23 the Canadian people who are about ready to throw
- 24 him out of office because he's been a total
- 25 disaster. So, I think we've got a president that

Page 25

- 1 wants to put America first and protect people.
 2 We have 100,000 people a year, Kristen, dying
 3 from fentanyl. He ran about this -- on this.
 4 This is not a surprise. He talked about getting
 5 operational control of our border, he talked
 6 about tariffs and improving our standing in the
 7 world. He's doing all those things. And look no
 8 further, the best evidence of this last week.
 9 Colombia came to the table after that threat and
 10 agreed to take criminals back into their country,
 11 and illegal immigrants. So, the fact of the
 12 matter is it works. It worked the first time
 13 when he was in office. We didn't see inflation,
 14 we saw wage growth, and we saw more on-shoring of
- 15 jobs back here to the United States.
 16 KRISTEN WELKER: I have to ask you

17 about the confirmation hearings, of course. Last

- 18 time you were here in November you told me you
- 19 were a "yes" on President Trump's Cabinet
- 20 nominations. Some of your Republican colleagues,
- 21 this week expressing concern in the wake of Tulsi
- 22 Gabbard's confirmation hearing. She's been
- 23 tapped to be the Director of National
- 24 Intelligence. Of course she was pressed on
- 25 whether Edward Snowden is a traitor-would not Page 26

1 the intelligence community spying on a

- 2 presidential candidate that happened to be
- 3 President Trump, suppressing the Hunter Biden
- 4 laptop story when he was running again, and then,
- 5 of course, the lawfare that included. So, I
- 6 think people are tired of these games, of this
- 7 sort of, "gotcha" stuff. Look, if he's, if he's
- 8 been indicted, he comes back to the States, he's
- 9 going to have a trial. But this idea we tried to
- 10 disqualify using these terms is ridiculous.
- 11 KRISTEN WELKER: Well, and what I'm
- 12 doing really, I mean, these are questions that
- 13 were asked by your Republican colleagues,
- 14 including Senator Langford, who asked very
- 15 simply, is he a traitor? A government contractor
- 16 who leaked government secrets? It's a very
- 17 simple question, yes or no? We're almost out of
- 18 time, though.

24

- 19 ERIC SCHMITT: Sure.
- 20 KRISTEN WELKER: Is he a traitor?
- 21 ERIC SCHMITT: I think she was pretty
- 22 clear. I think she's pretty clear.
- 23 KRISTEN WELKER: But what do you think?
 - ERIC SCHMITT: That she served this
- 25 country honorably, and I think it's totally

Page 28

- 1 answer that directly. Senator, are you still a
- 2 "yes" on Tulsi Gabbard's confirmation?
- 3 SEN. ERIC SCHMITT: I am, 100 percent.
- 4 I think she's very well-qualified. No one's
- 5 disputing that. She served our country honorably
- 6 in the military. She's been a member of
- 7 Congress. And I think she strikes a really
- 8 important balance for a key position of civil
- 9 liberties, protecting civil liberties of United
- 10 States citizens, and also our national security.
- 11 So, I still think she's going to get confirmed.
- 12 That's what this confirmation process is all
- 13 about, for people to ask tough questions. And I
- 14 think she's going to do just fine next week.
- 15 KRISTEN WELKER: Senator, very quickly
- 16 to you, how would you answer that same question?
- 17 Is Edward Snowden a traitor?
- 18 ERIC SCHMITT: Look, I think it's, it's
- 19 so interesting that this lexicon that gets
- 20 manipulated now. There were certain words that
- 21 you needed to say during COVID. There are
- 22 certain words that you need to say now. The fact
- 23 of the matter is, the people who are most
- 24 concerned, the most pushing this narrative are
- 25 the same ones who had no issues whatsoever with Page 27

- 1 ridiculous to try to smear people who are trying 2 to serve this country, because again, it's sort
- 3 of "gotcha." And I will also point out a lot of
- 4 people that are asking this don't like her
- 5 because she's going to bring reform and she's
- 6 going to curb the excesses in the worst instincts
- 7 of the intelligence community at times that has
- 8 gone after presidential candidates.
- 9 KRISTEN WELKER: Alright. Senator Eric
- 10 Schmitt, thank you so much for being here.
- 11 Really appreciate it.
- 12 SEN. ERIC SCHMITT: Great to be with
- 13 you.
- 14 KRISTEN WELKER: When we come back,
- 15 Democratic Senator Mark Kelly of Arizona joins me
- 16 next.
- 17 (Break)
- 18 KRISTEN WELKER: Welcome back, and
- 19 joining me now is Democratic Senator Mark Kelly
- 20 of Arizona. Senator Kelly, welcome back to Meet
- 21 the Press.
- SEN. MARK KELLY: Good morning,
- 23 Kristen.
- 24 KRISTEN WELKER: It's great to have you
- 25 back. I do have to start again on this tragic

- 1 news about this plane crash here in the nation's
- 2 capital. You, of course, have flown combat
- 3 missions as a Navy pilot. You just heard my
- 4 conversation with Senator Schmitt responding to
- 5 what we heard from President Trump this week,
- 6 that diversity programs, according to the
- 7 president, may have played a role. The president
- 8 acknowledging he does not have proof of that.
- 9 What is your take on what we know and what you've 10 heard?
- 11 SEN. MARK KELLY: Well, Kristen, first,
- 12 it's a tragic and sad accident. I really feel
- 13 for the families on the plane, on the helicopter.
- 14 It's -- you know, you know, these accidents are
- 15 all often a very complicated set of things that
- 16 happen sequentially. It's often not one thing
- 17 that causes a major aviation accident like this.
- 18 I've been involved in accident investigations,
- 19 particularly, like with the -- with Space Shuttle
- 20 Columbia, you know, as an example, that we lost
- 21 in 2003. And to say that it has to do with the
- 22 person's color of their skin or their gender, I
- 23 think that's just poor leadership. And
- 24 especially at a time where any president is
- 25 supposed to be the consoler-in-chief, and not the Page 30

1 that we could do to strengthen the border. You

- 2 know, we've demonstrated that Democrats and
- 3 Republicans can work together to come up with
- 4 real policy solutions. What the president has
- 5 proposed here, raising tariffs on Canada and
- 6 Mexico, it's going to just do one thing. You say
- 7 it may raise prices. It will raise prices for
- 8 American consumers. We saw this in his first
- 9 administration here in Arizona. We wound up in a
- 10 trade war over certain things with China. For
- 11 cotton producers and pecan farmers, they wound up
- 12 -- it really, really hurt their businesses. But,
- 13 you know, beyond this it's going to hurt American
- 14 families. They're going to see prices go up for
- 15 food, for energy, for electronics, I think you
- 16 mentioned that, for autos. This is not the way
- 17 to handle this.
- 18 KRISTEN WELKER: I do want to turn to
- 19 the nomination process. Tulsi Gabbard in the
- 20 spotlight this week. You were among those asking
- 21 her a range of different questions during her
- 22 confirmation hearing. She is a former Democratic
- 23 lawmaker. We should let remind folks of that.
- 24 She ran for president in the Democratic Party.
- 25 Notably, you have supported all but two of Mr.

- 1 person that's going to try to divide us as a
- 2 country, especially when you don't have the
- 3 appropriate information. And he clearly does not
- 4 have the information in this case. This is too
- 5 early in the investigation. The NTSB is really
- 6 good at this. They'll do a thorough
- 7 investigation and we'll eventually see what the
- 8 cause of this accident was.
- 9 KRISTEN WELKER: Yeah, and they are
- 10 still investigating, that is for sure. Let's
- 11 shift to the other big news of this morning, the
- 12 president's announcement on tariffs on the
- 13 country's three biggest trading partners. You
- 14 heard Senator Schmitt defending the plan, you
- 15 heard Secretary Noem defending the plan as well,
- 15 heard beeretary 1 toem detending the plan as well
- 16 saying ultimately this will be good for the
- 17 economy, rejecting the idea that it could drive 18 up prices. Do you think, as President Trump has
- 19 argued, that tariffs ultimately will be good at
- 20 stemming the flow of illegal immigration and
- 21 fentanyl?
- SEN. MARK KELLY: Kristen, you're --
- 23 we're talking about two different things here.
- 24 Border security is important. I represent
- 25 Arizona. We're a border state. There are things $$\operatorname{\textsc{Page}}\xspace 31$$

- 1 Trump's nominees so far, but you've expressed 2 some real concerns about Tulsi Gabbard. Based on
- 3 your conversations, do you think Tulsi Gabbard
- 4 has the votes to get confirmed?
- 5 SEN. MARK KELLY: Well, I think anybody
- 6 who went into that confirmation hearing this week
- 7 with questions about, you know, her background,
- 8 her ability to manage 18 intelligence agencies,
- 9 and also her commitment to guard our secrets --
- 10 as the director of national intelligence, she is
- 11 responsible for a lot. She's got to sort through
- 12 a massive amount of information every single day,
- 13 decide what to present to the president. I think
- 14 if you had questions about her decision making
- 15 and her judgment when you went into that hearing,
- 16 I think anybody that sat there, like I did, or my
- 17 colleagues on both sides of the aisle, probably
- 18 left with more questions. I know I did. You
- 19 played Senator Lankford's exchange with her over
- 20 whether or not Edward Snowden was a traitor.
- 21 It's a pretty simple question to ask. He
- 22 actually thought he was throwing her a softball,
- 23 something she could easily, you know, admit to.
- 24 I mean, the definition of a traitor's pretty
- 25 simple. I mean, whether or not somebody betrayed Page 33

- 1 our country, and in the case of Edward Snowden,2 we know he did. He gave -- he released a lot of
- 3 classified information, top secret information,
- 4 over a million documents, and he gave a lot of
- 5 those to Russia, he may have given some to China.
- 6 He meets the definition. I don't see why she
- 7 couldn't, you know, say that. I'm kind of
- 8 puzzled by it and, you know, I don't know why she
- 9 wouldn't admit that. It's interesting, my friend
- 10 and colleague, Eric Schmitt, wouldn't either. I
- 11 don't, you know, I don't question, you know, his
- 12 judgment on this. I think this is a very
- 13 political situation. But I think my Republican
- 14 colleagues, many of them will still have
- 15 questions about her nomination.
- 16 KRISTEN WELKER: All right, we'll
- 17 have to see how it all plays out. It will be
- 18 obviously a dynamic several days as we wait to
- 19 see what happens with her vote, whether she gets
- 20 out of committee. Sources who are close to her
- 21 say they do feel confident she will. I do want
- 22 to talk about the president's mass deportation
- 23 plans. You heard from Homeland Security
- 24 Secretary Kristi Noem earlier in the broadcast.
- 25 ICE operations are already being carried out

Page 34

- 1 accordance with our values.
- 2 KRISTEN WELKER: One more question to
- 3 you, Senator. President Trump obviously signed
- 4 the Laken Riley Act into law this week. Just so
- 5 folks understand, that will allow law enforcement
- 6 to detain and to deport undocumented immigrants
- 7 who've been charged with theft-related crimes.
- 8 You voted in support of this bill. I had an
- 9 opportunity to interview your colleague, Senator
- 10 Adam Schiff, who opposed it. He told me last
- 11 week this bill is so broad the U.S., quote,
- 12 "would be able to deport Dreamers for taking a
- 13 tube of toothpaste." Can you guarantee this law
- 14 won't be applied in a way that's overly broad?
- 15 SEN. MARK KELLY: Well, this law is
- 16 about public safety. Representing a border
- 17 state, this affects Arizona I think more than
- 18 other states just because of, you know, numbers,
- 19 and it's where, you know, folks cross. Kristen,
- 20 if you come across the border and you don't have
- 21 documentation, you've already committed a crime.
- 22 This is for somebody who then decides to commit a
- 23 second crime. And they're taken into custody,
- 24 there'll be due process involved so they could
- 25 eventually -- if they can prove that these are

Page 36

- 1 across the country. You have pushed for tougher
- 2 standards, tougher border policies. Do you
- 3 support what you are seeing so far, the
- 4 deportation plan, as it's been carried out by the
- 5 president?
- 6 SEN. MARK KELLY: Yeah, I don't. For a
- 7 number of reasons. It seems to be more about
- 8 intimidation of a big population of people. It's
- 9 going down the road of mass deportation, which he
- 10 said he would do, which would rip communities
- 11 apart. These are really bad ideas. Sending --
- 12 Trying to send folks back to Colombia, which we
- 13 do routinely, but sending them on military
- 14 airplanes, which, by the way, costs a lot more 15 money than putting them on a chartered airline
- 16 flight which we've, you know, done for decades.
- 17 It's all about scaring and intimidating people.
- 18 It's the same thing for Guantanamo Bay. Building
- 19 a facility there is because it just sounds very
- 20 frightening to a lot of folks. When you're a
- 21 criminal, we need to find where you are and we
- 22 need to take you into custody, and if you're not
- 23 documented, you should be returned. That makes
- 24 sense. I'm all about public safety and border
- 25 security. But we've got to do it in a way in

- 1 not valid charges, or they go through the court 2 system -- they could then be released. I'm not
- 3 concerned about, you know, what Adam is talking
- 4 about. I think, you know, very highly of
- 5 Dreamers. You know, Dreamers are as American as
- 6 my own two kids. I think we should be working
- 7 towards a pathway to citizenship for Dreamers. I
- 8 know some of my Republican colleagues feel the
- 9 same way. And we're going to solve these border
- 10 issues by working together, Democrats and
- 11 Republicans, to come up with policy changes on
- 12 border security and immigration reform.
- 13 KRISTEN WELKER: All right, Senator
- 14 Kelly, thank you so much for joining us. We
- 15 really appreciate it.
- 16 SEN. MARK KELLY: Thank you, Kristen.
- 17 KRISTEN WELKER: And when we come back,
- 18 a warning about the need for checks and balances
- 19 in the federal government from a former attorney
- 20 general. Our Meet the Press Minute is next.
- 21 KRISTEN WELKER: Welcome back. One of
- 22 the Senate's key checks on the executive branch
- 23 was back on display this week as senators grilled
- 24 some of President Trump's more vulnerable Cabinet 25 nominees like Robert F. Kennedy, Jr. Back in

Page 37

1 after our nearest neighbors and one of our 1 1961, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, Sr. 2 joined Meet the Press with this defense of 2 biggest global adversaries and competitors in 3 China. And I pressed him looking for, "What does 3 Congress's role in reining in the administration. 4 he want back? Is it a negotiating ploy? Is 4 [BEGIN TAPE] ROBERT F. KENNEDY, SR.: I think it's 5 6 terribly important to ensure that the executive 7 branch of the government is not corrupt, and that 8 they are efficient, that the legislative branch 9 of the government has this ability to check on 10 what we're doing in the executive branch of the 11 wanting to reduce prices, and we know that prices 11 government. So, in every instance that has been 12 are paid -- the -- the importers pay the tariff 12 brought to our attention at the Department of 13 Justice so far by various departments of the 13 and then it's passed on." And he said, "There 14 could be disruption. But people will 14 executive branch where this question has been 15 understand." I said, "Mr. President, you said 15 raised, we have suggested and recommended that 16 they make the information available to Congress. 17 there is a lot more to be understood about the 17 We will continue to do that. I don't say that 18 there might not be an instance where executive 18 real world impact. It's coming on the fly. It 19 appeared on the fly. He sort of negotiated down 19 privilege might have to be used, but I think that 20 it's terribly important, with the executive 21 branch of the government as powerful and strong 21 we know energy matters to his overall policy, and 22 it matters to Americans who have to fill their 22 as it is, that there be some check and balance on 23 it. 23 gas tanks. 24 24 [END TAPE] 25 KRISTEN WELKER: And when we come back, Page 38 1 will President Trump's controversial Cabinet 2 nominees make it through the confirmation 2 issue that impacts them on a day-to-day basis. 3 process? The panel is next. 3 What is the reaction that you're starting to see 4 (Break) 4 trickle into this news that the president is

- KRISTEN WELKER: Welcome back. The
- 6 panel is here: NBC News Senior White House
- 7 Correspondent Kelly O'Donnell, NBC News Chief
- 8 Capitol Hill Correspondent Ryan Nobles, former
- 9 Democratic Congresswoman Stephanie Murphy of
- 10 Florida, and Marc Short, former Trump Director of
- 11 Legislative Affairs. Thanks to all of you for
- 12 being here. Boy, there are a lot of headlines to
- 13 get to. Kelly, let's start with the one that
- 14 broke overnight: tariffs. The president
- 15 officially moving to impose tariffs against
- 16 America's three biggest trading partners. You
- 17 had a very robust exchange with him on Friday in
- 18 the Oval Office about a range of issues,
- 19 including this one. You pressed him repeatedly:
- 20 will prices go up?
- KELLY O'DONNELL: We had a lot of back
- 22 and forth on this. In part, I was acting as a
- 23 pool reporter, so I was in the Oval. And what
- 24 was striking is this is the president's first
- 25 foreign policy move, and it is one that goes

- 5 there a concession you're looking for?" And he 6 kept saying no. And if you read the text of it, 7 he talks about the national emergency we have 8 with Canada, using that power, that authority he 9 has to declare something that many Americans may 10 not see. I then asked him about, "You ran

 - 16 you would reduce everyday costs." So, I think

 - 20 from 25 percent to 10 percent on energy because

 - KRISTEN WELKER: Well, Ryan, pick up
 - 25 there. Because for so many constituents of

Page 40

- 1 lawmakers on Capitol Hill, this is a, you know,

- 5 imposing tariffs? And, by the way, potentially
- 6 vowing to escalate them if these other countries
- 7 retaliate, which they say they're going to do.
- RYAN NOBLES: Well, this is going to be 8
- 9 a real test to see if Republicans in Congress are
- 10 willing to stand up to the president, because
- 11 they're going to be the first ones to hear
- 12 directly from their constituents when their
- 13 constituents' prices start to rise. And what
- 14 we've seen, at least in the first two weeks of
- 15 this administration, is that Congressional
- 16 Republicans are largely out of the loop. They're
- 17 finding out about these major policy proposals
- 18 oftentimes when we tell them in the hallways of
- 19 Congress. And so, there's little opportunity for
- 20 them to react, to respond, and to encourage the
- 21 president to go into a different direction
- 22 because he's not consulting them on some of these
- 23 big decisions. There's a long laundry list of
- 24 things that I know you want to talk about,
- 25 Kristen. So, we'll have to see if they're

Page 41

- 1 reactionary here. Do they plead with the White
- 2 House to try and rein this in or refine the
- 3 policy proposal a little bit? Because there's no
- 4 doubt they're going to hear from their
- 5 constituents first. And we're only a year and
- 6 change away from the next election, and they're
- 7 the ones that are going to feel the brunt of
- 8 these decisions first.
- KRISTEN WELKER: Marc, as someone who
- 10 was in the first Trump administration when
- 11 tariffs were imposed against China, there's a
- 12 difference between these round of tariffs and
- 13 what we saw during the first Trump
- 14 administration.
- MARC SHORT: I think this is one of the
- 16 greatest differences between Trump 1.0 and Trump
- 17 2.0. In the first administration, the tariffs
- 18 were largely targeted, largely toward China for
- 19 national security purposes to get concessions.
- 20 The first administration had economic advisors
- 21 and national security advisors who believed in
- 22 trade for both economic benefit and national
- 23 security benefit. The team he has around him
- 24 today has a very different viewpoint. It's a
- 25 very mercantilist viewpoint that says, "You

- 1 broad set of events that we have witnessed?
- 2 STEPHANIE MURPHY: Well, I think that
- 3 the Democrats have a real opportunity here if
- 4 they focus on standing up for the people. And
- 5 while some of the things that you mentioned are
- 6 really outrageous –firing people at the
- 7 Department of Justice and at the FBI -- Democrats
- 8 can't be seen as fighting for power within
- 9 Washington. They have to be seen fighting for
- 10 the people. And so highlighting the federal
- 11 funding freeze, talking about the impact of
- 12 tariffs on everyday Americans, and the cost of
- 13 their groceries, and all of their prices, that's
- 14 going to be a winning message for Democrats.
- 15 It's unfortunate, though, because this president
- 16 ran and won on lowering costs for Americans, and
- 17 his first sets of policies are going to actually
- 18 raise costs for Americans. And Democrats are
- 19 going to hang that around not just Donald Trump
- 20 but also Republicans in Congress.
 - KRISTEN WELKER: Yeah, we are starting
- 22 to see them galvanize around this message that
- 23 you talk about, Stephanie. And what's so notable
- 24 about the FBI firings, Kash Patel said in his
- 25 hearing there will not be retribution against

Page 44

- 1 should be paying for access to American markets."
- 2 Regardless of the reality that Americans or the
- 3 importers paying that tariff or that tax, the
- 4 belief is that this is a tax that should be --
- 5 should be assessed to other people. I think the
- 6 bigger question is going to be if there's this
- 7 huge market reaction this week, if it begins to
- 8 impact the economy, then I think could undermine
- 9 a lot of his other parts of his agenda. And I'll
- 10 say this is just the beginning. The president
- 11 and his current team really believe this is the
- 12 right economic policy across the board and there
- 13 will be a lot more tariffs coming.
- 14 KRISTEN WELKER: Yeah. Stephanie,
- 15 let's zoom out a little bit. This week really
- 16 has brought a dizzying number of headlines. It
- 17 started with the administration basically
- 18 announcing cuts to all federal aid. They pulled
- 19 that back, so big reversal. We're kind of
- 20 waiting to see how that plays out. The
- 21 president, as we talked about on the program,
- 22 blaming diversity programs for the crash. And
- 23 then on Friday, the announcement that a number of
- 24 prosecutors -- career prosecutors within the FBI
- 25 and DOJ being fired. What do you make of this Page 43

- 1 anyone at the FBI. And Ryan, it comes as we have
- 2 this new reporting that of all the president's
- 3 nominees, it's Tulsi Gabbard who may be in real
- 4 trouble. That White House officials were rattled 5 by her inability to say that "Yes, Edward Snowden
- 6 is a traitor." Notably, today Senator Schmitt
- 7 didn't want to go there, didn't want to touch it.
- 8 What are you hearing about her chances of getting
- 9 confirmed?

21

Page 42

- 10 RYAN NOBLES: So, I think of the three
- 11 most controversial picks -- Patel, RFK Jr., and
- 12 Tulsi Gabbard -- Gabbard is the one that is in
- 13 the most danger. But I do think that you have to
- 14 start from a place of them getting confirmed and
- 15 work your way back. Because what this
- 16 administration is not going to do is what they
- 17 did with Matt Gaetz and pull the nominee back
- 18 before they get a vote. They're going to force
- 19 every single Republican senator to be accountable
- 20 for this vote, and vote yes or no. And that
- 21 includes Tulsi Gabbard. Now, there is a
- 22 difference, though, in their approach in terms of
- 23 how they're encouraging or putting pressure on
- 24 these senators to vote yes or no, which a part of
- 25 your reporting says, Kristen. And you know, with Page 45

12 (Pages 42 - 45)

				_
	Pete Hegseth, it was a very clear message to	1	CERTIFICATION	
	Republican senators, a message sometimes sent by	2		
1	the president himself. At this point, we're not		I, Sonya Ledanski Hyde, certify that the	
4	seeing that same level of pressure with Tulsi		foregoing transcript is a true and accurate	
5	Gabbard. Whether or not that leads to enough	5	record of the proceedings.	
6	senators, you know, it would require four to step	6		
7	out and vote no, that's something we'll probably	7		
8	find out this week.	8		
9	KRISTEN WELKER: Yeah. Kelly, you know	9	Songa M. dedarki Hyd	
10	how this plays out, having covered the Hill.	10	U	
11	KELLY O'DONNELL: It is also a test of	11	Veritext Legal Solutions	
12	how the president judges those on camera	12	330 Old Country Road	
13	performances. And for Robert Kennedy Jr. and	13	Suite 300	
1	Tulsi Gabbard, the performances during the	14	Mineola, NY 11501	
1	hearings did not meet the same bar that Pete	15		
1	Hegseth did.	16	Date: February 18, 2025	
17	KRISTEN WELKER: And Marc, what do you		•	
1	make of Tulsi Gabbard, but then this morning	18		
	Senator Schmitt saying, "I'm not going to touch	19		
1	that. That's that's not a real question." And	20		
	yet it was a question that Republicans were	21		
	asking her.	22		
23	MARC SHORT: I think a lot of Americans	23		
	don't remember who Edward Snowden is or Julian	24		
	Assange. But I think that a lot of Trump	25		
	Page 46		Page 4	8
1	supporters believe the Intelligence Committee			
1	hurt him greatly with the fake Russia			
1	investigation. But the speed of position where			
1	you can say that somebody who sold American			
	secrets, that put Americans in uniforms lives in			
1				
1	danger is somehow not a traitor, is an extension			
1	that goes far beyond the pale of where I think			
1	our party is today when you can't say that Julian			
	Assange and Edward Snowden were actually traitors.			
11	STEPHANIE MURPHY: National security is			
1	dependent on the ability to collect intelligence			
	and safeguard intelligence. And on both of those			
1	counts, Tulsi's hearing showed that she didn't			
	full-throatedly believe in either the key ability			
l	to collect the intelligence or the need to			
17	safeguard it. And I think that should put some			
1	real questions in the senators' minds.			
19	KRISTEN WELKER: All right. Well,			
1	we'll have to see how it all plays out. Great			
1	conversation, guys. Thanks so much for being			
1	here. That is all for today. Thank you so much			
	for watching. We'll be back next week, because			
1	if it's Sunday, it's Meet the Press.			
25	Daga 47			
1	Page 47			

Exhibit 22



'Takeover' in Colorado Reached Trump Filed 06/03/25 Page 193 of 34

The claim that Aurora, Colo., has been overrun by gun-toting migrants stemmed from the city's fight with a landlord. Now it is central to one of former President Donald J. Trump's anti-immigrant campaign promises.

Sept. 15, 2024

Dilapidated apartment complexes in Aurora, Colo., have become a cause célèbre for right-wing media and former President Donald J. Trump, after the landlord claimed a Venezuelan street gang had taken over.

► Listen to this article · 11:14 min Learn more

By Jonathan Weisman Photographs by Michael Ciaglo
Reporting from Aurora and Denver, Colo.

Mike Coffman, the conservative Republican mayor of Aurora, Colo., said he was at home on Tuesday night watching the presidential debate and bracing for the worst.

And then there it was again, before tens of millions of viewers: former President Donald J. Trump, describing Mr. Coffman's Aurora, a sprawling suburb just east of Denver, as a city under siege, terrorized by migrants.

"They're taking over buildings," Mr. Trump said. "They're going in violently."

Mr. Coffman was contrite on Thursday as he told that story. After all, he had helped create the tall tale now sullying his city's reputation.

Before Springfield, Ohio, before the misinformation about devoured pets and the memes of Mr. Trump rescuing ducks and kittens, there was Aurora, pop. 404,219, supposedly overrun by the violent Venezuelan street gang, Tren de Aragua. Those claims became a cause célèbre for the right-wing media, and ultimately a key focus of Mr. Trump's anti-immigration repertoire as he <u>escalated his attacks on immigrants</u> as part of his campaign's effort to capitalize on voter concerns about the <u>southern border crisis</u>.

Caught in the middle are a number of migrants, living in dilapidated apartments that Aurora officials now call squalor, amid "criminal elements," not widespread gang activity, and unable to find or afford better. The buildings are nonetheless at the center of a national firestorm.



"Because of one or two Venezuelans who wanted to do something wrong, we are now all accused of something," said Yorman Fernandez on Friday. Mr. Fernandez, 29, lives in one of the troubled complexes.

"Because of one or two Venezuelans who wanted to do something wrong, we are now all accused of something," Yorman Fernandez, a 29-year-old Venezuelan who lives at one of the properties, said on Friday, between jobs painting and roofing. "We are not all the same."

And Mr. Coffman has had to reverse his own rhetoric as he watches Mr. Trump, the presidential candidate he still said he would reluctantly vote for in November, continue to stoke fear in his community. Meantime, the mayor has started a crusade to try to undo the damage Mr. Trump is inflicting.

"I mean, I agree with him on a lot of policies as it pertains to immigration," Mr. Coffman said in City Hall on Thursday. "But I'm also the mayor of the City of Aurora, and my job is not only to make sure that the city is safe, but also to protect the image of the city.

also the mayor of the City of Aurora, and my job is not only to make sure that the city is safe, but also to protect the image of the city. This narrative out there is exaggerated, and it's our responsibility to correct it."

How the claims about Aurora began



Mike Coffman, the mayor of Aurora, initially helped spread the misleading claims that Venezuelan gangs had taken over parts of the city. He has since backtracked, trying to rehabilitate Aurora's image.

As far back as May 2023, Aurora officials had been trying to force an out-of-state landlord to fix up three blighted apartment complexes in the downtrodden East Colfax Corridor, which connects the cities of Denver and Aurora.

In July 2024, the landlord, CBZ Management, which says it is based



complexes in the downtrodden East Colfax Corridor, which connects the cities of Denver and Aurora.

In July 2024, the landlord, CBZ Management, which says it is based in Colorado and Brooklyn, offered a new argument for why it couldn't repair the buildings: Venezuelan gangs had taken over, and the property managers had been forced to flee.

Mr. Coffman and a Republican City Council member, Danielle Jurinsky, quickly repeated CBZ's unverified claim in interviews.

"We have areas in our city, unfortunately, that have been taken, and we have to take back," Mr. Coffman told a local talk radio host on July 31.

On Aug, 5, a public relations agent, Sara Lattman, hired by CBZ, pitched a "tip" to the local Fox television network affiliate in Denver.

"An apartment building and its owners in Aurora, Colorado have become the most recent victims of the Venezuelan Gang Tren de Aragua's violence, which has taken over several communities in the Denver area," she wrote on Fox 31's tip line, according to an email obtained by The Times. "The residents and building owners of these properties have been left in a state of fear and chaos."

But it was a viral video that <u>began circulating in late August</u> that shows armed men in the hallway of one of the complexes that ultimately caught Mr. Trump's attention. The incident was reported as a connection to gang violence, particularly the Venezuelan gang Tren de Aragua, though documentation was scarce.

On Tuesday, the Aurora Police Department announced it had arrested 10 members of Tren de Aragua on charges of "felony menacing," attempted first-degree murder, assault, child abuse, domestic abuse and others. But Todd Chamberlain, Aurora's new police chief, could not say whether any of those men were among those seen in the video, or whether any in the video had actually done anything criminal.

Still, the clip, taken by a resident and played on endless loops on



those seen in the video, or whether any in the video had actually done anything criminal.

Still, the clip, taken by a resident and played on endless loops on Fox News Channel and the website of The New York Post, metastasized into grandiose stories of whole buildings, whole sections of town and, in Mr. Trump's telling, the whole city of Aurora being taken over by migrants carrying weapons of war.

"And getting them out will be a bloody story," Mr. Trump said of Aurora at a rally in Mosinee, Wis., last Saturday, adding that it was "not going to be easy, but we'll do it."

Mr. Coffman and Ms. Jurinsky have both since backtracked.

"The overstated claims fueled by social media and through select news organizations are simply not true," they <u>wrote in a joint statement released Wednesday that appeared aimed at pushing back on Mr. Trump's debate comments.</u>

A false story, fueled by real problems







Star Lopez, left, and her husband Luis, who live in the complex where the viral video was filmed, spoke of roach infestations, long stretches without electricity or running water, a refrigerator that barely works and no landlord to communicate with or even pay rent to.

The claims about Aurora were spun out of real issues.

The Denver area has struggled to deal with an influx of about 40,000 migrants, many of whom had been sent inland by Gov. Greg Abbott of Texas. The soaring cost of housing, acute in Denver, had brought many of those new arrivals to Aurora looking for somewhere cheaper to live — right to those same ramshackle apartments the city was already fighting to get cleaned up.

On Thursday, one resident of the complex, Star Lopez, 29, was gingerly walking her three dogs through a tiny stretch of dirt and weeds — and piles of dog feces — between two of the buildings where the video was captured. Inside the nondescript three-story brick structures, flies swarmed. Most apartments had broken windows, no screens, and doors ajar with no functioning locks or even doorknobs.

Nadeen Ibrahim, organizing director for the nonprofit East Colfax Community Collective, a social service organization in the area, warned of bedbug infestations and rats.

But there were no armed men blocking passage or extorting rent or protection money, Ms. Lopez said, despite what conservative



warned of bedbug infestations and rats.

But there were no armed men blocking passage or extorting rent or protection money, Ms. Lopez said, despite what conservative media has said. Most of the residents at this point are squatters.

"Oh, it's taken over, but it's taken over by everybody," Ms. Lopez said, freely admitting she hadn't paid rent since November, and adding that most of the neighbors hadn't either. "It's survival of the fittest."

Ms. Lopez is pregnant, hoping for a Christmas baby, she said. Her husband, Luis Lopez, 22, said he works in a warehouse and won't let his wife walk the dogs at night until he comes home from the late shift. It's too dangerous. They spoke of roach infestations, long stretches without electricity or running water, a refrigerator that barely works and no landlord to communicate with or even pay.

Nearby, an onlooker from Colorado Springs who declined to give his name gawked and took pictures. He was at the Department of Veterans Affairs hospital nearby and "thought I'd stop by," he said. "I was expecting to see vigilantes all over the place, people on the rooftops with machine guns."

The effects





The Fitzsimons Place apartment complex, run by CBZ Management, is one of three that Aurora officials had tried to force the company to fix up as far back as May 2023. The complex, which sits on 1568 Nome Street, is now closed, its windows and doors boarded up.

After the video of armed men went viral in August, Mr. Coffman recalled strapping on a bulletproof vest — "I looked like the Michelin Man" — to pay his first visit to the building where it was filmed. He saw nothing but frustrated renters pleading with him to intervene. When he next held a town-hall meeting with renters from the apartment complexes, he didn't bother with security.

But the story has taken on a life of its own. Mr. Trump placed Aurora front and center on Friday in his plans for mass deportations if elected.

"We're going to have the largest deportation in the history of our country," Mr. Trump said at a news conference at Trump National Golf Club in Rancho Palos Verdes, Calif. "And we're going to start with Springfield and Aurora."

There have already been real-world consequences to the fear-mongering, exaggerations and outright lies spreading on the internet and the campaign trail about the situation. Last month, the city shut down one of the buildings, Fitzsimons Place apartments, at the center of the controversy, emptying it of nearly 200 inhabitants — many, but not all, of them migrants and recent arrivals. City officials and police officers arrived at 7 a.m. Aug. 7, the first day of school, to announce that the residents of 1568 Nome Street had six days to clear out.

Rehousing people has been a struggle.

Fear and negative publicity have pushed landlords to stop renting to Venezuelan migrants, said Crystal Murillo, a city councilwoman. Legal aid groups representing tenants and social service nonprofits struggling to house whole families say they are overwhelmed. YouTube personalities and TikTok stars prowl city slums. A white supremacist called into the City Council's public comment period on Monday evening, spewing hate against Venezuelans and Jews.



Legal aid groups representing tenants and social service nonprofits struggling to house whole families say they are overwhelmed.

"This doesn't compare to any crisis that we've ever experienced," said Emily Goodman, senior manager for housing assistance at the nonprofit East Colfax Community Collective, a social service organization in the area.

The mayor blames his initial statements on information from the Aurora police that was too credulous in repeating the property owner's excuses.

"The pattern of problems are with one — really, I'm going to be real blunt, I guess — out-of-state slumlord," he said.

The city has now filed several civil and criminal actions against CBZ and the man officials identified as the landlord of the apartments, Zev Baumgarten.

Stan Garnett, Mr. Baumgarten's lawyer, insisted that Mr. Baumgarten had no ownership of the property and no management role and was merely a consultant for CBZ.

A lawyer for CBZ, Matthew C. Arentsen, said that his "clients believe that, at its core, this case is not about property mismanagement but about government failures."

Mr. Chamberlain, the police chief, said he believed that the situation at the properties was now under control. The department is shifting to supporting the Venezuelan community with youth programs and safety outreach — and trying to ensure that its law enforcement efforts do not target the entire migrant community.

"We cannot get myopic or get focused based upon a knee-jerk reaction to something that is very titillating or very out there in the public right now," he said.

Across the street from one of the properties, Whispering Pines, three men sat on their front porch Thursday afternoon shouting at a reporter and a photographer not to believe the "fake news" about the place. Sure, there is crime and probably some gangs, they said, but in this neighborhood those had been there well before the Venezuelans arrived and will be there long after they depart. What they wouldn't do is give their names.

"I'm not messing with Donald Trump," one man said, shooing the reporter off the property.





City of Aurora code enforcement officers walking through an unlit hallway in one of the apartment buildings at the center of the national firestorm.

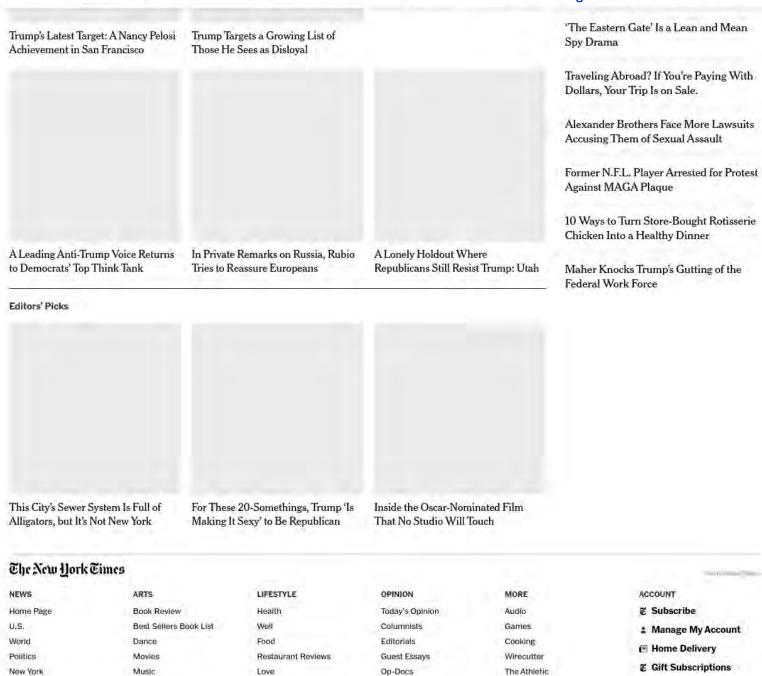
Jonathan Weisman is a politics writer, covering campaigns with an emphasis on economic and labor policy. He is based in Chicago. More about Jonathan Weisman

A version of this article appears in print on Sept. 16, 2024, Section A, Page 12 of the New York edition with the headline: The Real Consequences Of Trump's False Claims About Colorado's Gangs. Order Reprints |

Today's Paper | Subscribe

See more on: Donald Trump, 2024 Elections: News, Polls and Analysis, Republican Party, U.S. Politics





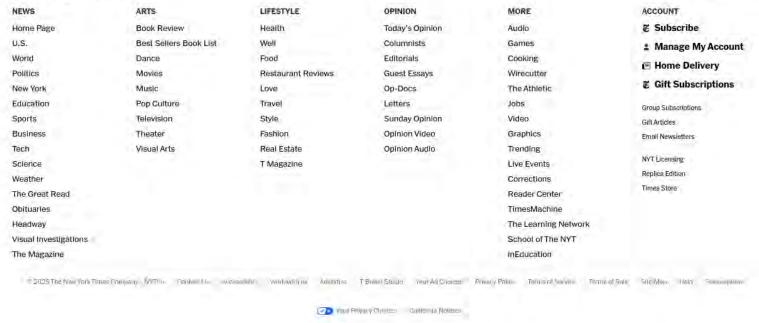


Exhibit 23



HOME

ARTICLES *

ASK A QUESTION -

FACTCHECK POSTS > FEATURED POSTS

Crime Drop in Venezuela Does Not Prove Trump's Claim the Country Is Sending Criminals to U.S.

By Robert Farley and Catalina Jaramillo

Posted on June 14, 2024

THIS ARTICLE IS AVAILABLE IN BOTH ENGLISH AND ESPAÑOL

English -











Para leer en español, vea esta traducción de El Tiempo Latino.

Anyone who has heard a speech by former President Donald Trump in the last few years has certainly heard his unsubstantiated claim that countries around the world are emptying their prisons and mental institutions and sending those people to the U.S.

Trump has offered scant support for this claim, but in virtually all of his recent speeches, he has been citing a reported drop in crime in Venezuela as evidence that the economically and politically beleaguered country is sending its criminals to the U.S.

Experts in and out of Venezuela told us there is no evidence to back up Trump's claim. Reported crime is trending down in Venezuela — though not nearly as dramatically as Trump claims — but crime experts in the country say there are numerous reasons for that and they have nothing to do with sending criminals to the U.S.

Nonetheless, it's hard to prove a negative, and those who follow Venezuelan politics say such a tactic is not beyond Venezuelan President Nicolás Maduro, who has been in power since 2013 and is seeking another six-year term. The FBI acknowledges some Venezuelan criminals have migrated to the U.S., but there's no indication they were purposefully released from prison to come to this country.

When Trump makes such an explosive and sweeping claim — and makes it a hallmark of his case to return to office - the onus is on him to provide evidence. He hasn't. (His press office did not respond to our inquires about it.) And the argument that Venezuelan crime is down is not the proof Trump suggests it is.

Trump's Claim

In recent speeches, Trump has sometimes said that crime is down "a staggering 67%" in Venezuela, while at other times he has put the drop in crime at "72% in a year."

But in each case, as he did in a video posted to social media on June 4, he cited the statistics to support his claim, "They're taking their drug dealers and their people in jail, lots of people in jail, they're taking their murderers, their killers, they're taking them all and they're sending them into the United States."

"Venezuela was crime ridden," Trump said in remarks on May 31 after his conviction in the hush money case. "Caracas, their cities, crime ridden two years ago, three years ago. They just reported a 72% drop in crime in the last year because all of their criminals, most of them, and the rest are coming in now, the ones that didn't come in. In Venezuela, their prisons have been emptied into the United States. Their criminals and drug dealers have been taken out of the cities and brought into the United States, and that's true with many other countries."

Ask FactCheck

Q: Did former President Joe Biden issue a statement saying that he thought the Equal Rights Amendment should be considered part of the Constitution?

A: Yes. On one of his last days in office, Biden published a statement supporting the ERA, but it has no legal effect.

> Read the full question and answer View the Ask FactCheck archives Have a question? Ask us.

Donate Now

Because facts matter.



SciCheck's COVID-19/Vaccination Project

Preempting and exposing vaccination and COVID-19 misinformation.



Proyecto de Vacunación/COVID-19

Precaviendo y exponiendo la desinformación sobre el COVID-19 y sus vacunas



SciCheck

Fact-checking sciencebased claims.



Facebook Initiative

Debunking viral claims.

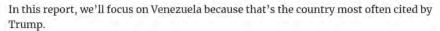


Players Guide 2024

The special interest groups behind the TV ads.

"Venezuela was crime ridden." Trump said in remarks on May 31 after his conviction in the CaSe 3.25-cv-01.766-EMC Document 166 Filed 06/03/25 Page 207 of 342 hush money case. "Caracas, their cities, crime ridden two years ago, three years ago. They

just reported a 72% drop in crime in the last year because all of their criminals, most of them, and the rest are coming in now, the ones that didn't come in. In Venezuela, their prisons have been emptied into the United States. Their criminals and drug dealers have been taken out of the cities and brought into the United States, and that's true with many other countries."



Carlos Nieto of the Venezuelan nongovernmental organization A Window to Freedom is, of course, well aware of Trump's relentless insistence that Venezuelan officials have been systematically emptying their prisons and mental institutions and sending those people to the U.S.

Nieto, whose group has been monitoring the prison situation in Venezuela for more than 25 years, told us he has observed no evidence that supports Trump's claim. He added that there definitely is no official state policy to that effect.

Some criminals have emigrated from Venezuela, he told us in Spanish, and some have made their way to the U.S. But, he said, "there is nothing that can be affirmed that establishes that there is an agreement, or that the Venezuelan government is helping criminals leave Venezuela to go to the United States."

But neither can he rule out that it could be happening "under the hood."

"I do not doubt that it could be happening, nor do I doubt that it can be done," Nieto said. "I mean, these people, I'm talking about Maduro and his clique, are capable of that and many more things."

But that's pure speculation. And again, Nieto and other experts say they have seen no evidence of it.

Venezuelan Crime Stats

Reliable crime statistics in Venezuela are notoriously difficult to obtain. The government hasn't provided dependable crime reports in many years, Mike LaSusa, deputy director of content at InSight Crime, a think tank focused on crime and security in the Americas, told us via email.

Although Venezuelan security officials in May reported a 25% drop in crime this year compared with the same period in 2023, "the absence of official reports makes it impossible to verify the data," LaSusa said in a May 28 report.

In the absence of reliable government reporting, media and nongovernmental organizations have become the most trusted sources for documenting and tracking crime, LaSusa said.

One such NGO, the independent Venezuelan Observatory of Violence, in December reported a 25% decrease in violent deaths between 2022 and 2023. (Violent deaths include homicides, deaths by police intervention and suspected violent deaths under investigation.) That drop was widely reported in U.S. media. If Trump is citing the murder tally as a proxy for overall crime, he is vastly overstating the one-year drop.

But the number of violent deaths has been declining for years in Venezuela, according to the group's tallies, and is nearly 70% lower than it was in 2018, according to Roberto Briceño-León, the founder and director of the OVV (the acronym for Venezuelan Observatory of Violence in Spanish). That corresponds with Trump's figure, but, of course, that is a much longer time frame that predates the Biden administration.

LaSusa said the OVV's murder rate estimates track with InSight's observation about "a reduction in the intensity of criminal violence in certain areas of the country." But, he said, InSight has not seen a reduction in crime of 67% in a year, as Trump claimed.

"Additionally, the reductions that we have observed seem to respond largely to changes in criminal dynamics, rather than the effectiveness of the government's security policies," LaSusa said. "Basically, criminal groups seem to be seeking new opportunities outside of Venezuela due to the lack of opportunities in the country."



Players Guide 2024

The special interest groups behind the TV ads.



Viral Spiral

Don't get spun by internet rumors.



Sign Up

Get free email alerts.



Mailbag

Letters from our readers.



On the Air

Our staff on TV and radio.



NewsFeed Defenders

A media literacy game to detect misinformation.

LaSusa said the OVV's murder rate estimates track with InSight's observation about "a reduction in heise 18:25 cvi 101766 EAIC ertail or 11 might 166. BELLO 18:30 InSight has not seen a reduction in crime of 67% in a year, as Trump claimed.

Page 208 of 342

"Additionally, the reductions that we have observed seem to respond largely to changes in criminal dynamics, rather than the effectiveness of the government's security policies," LaSusa said. "Basically, criminal groups seem to be seeking new opportunities outside of Venezuela due to the lack of opportunities in the country."

What's Driving the Crime Drop?

In its Annual Report on Violence 2023, OVV documented 6,973 violent deaths in 2023, about 14% of which resulted from police enforcement. That's down from 9,447 and 9,367 in 2021 and 2022, respectively. That's a decline of 26% in the reported number of violent deaths between 2021 and 2023.

While the violent death rate may have dropped, a national survey conducted by OVV in mid-2023 found that about 78% of residents believed crime had stayed the same or gotten worse.

Briceño-León shared with us via email in Spanish some of the causes OVV identified for the drop in murders — none of which includes a government program to ship convicts to the U.S.

"We have no evidence that the Venezuelan government is emptying the prisons or mental hospitals to send them out of the country, whether to the USA or any other country," Briceño-León said.

Rather, he said, the drop in crime is due to worsening economic and living conditions in the country, which has led to a massive out-migration of nearly 8 million people since 2014.

"Crime is reduced in Venezuela due to a reduction in crime opportunities: bank robberies disappear because there is no money to steal; kidnappings are reduced because there is no cash to pay ransoms; robberies on public transportation cease because travelers have no money in their pockets and old, worthless cell phones; and assaults on bank money dispensers disappear because the cash they can give to their clients has not exceeded twenty U.S. dollars," Briceño-León said.

There has also been a consolidation of gang activity, which has led to a reduction in crime. In its report, OVV wrote that the drop in crime "can be attributed to the reduction of disorganized criminal activities and the growing concentration and monopolization of violence by powerful criminal organizations. These criminal organizations are now focusing on specific niches of criminal opportunities, which has led to a decreased overall level of violence in the country."

"The decrease in 'disorganized' violence, which causes high lethality, has been reduced by the notable emigration of young people and the loss of opportunities for crime," the report stated. "In recent years, there has been a reduction in the lethality of violence in certain parts of the country. This trend has been attributed to agreements made between criminal gangs regarding the distribution of tasks during business operations, as well as the demarcation of areas of operation, which has allowed for their expansion and consolidation. However, in municipalities where there are no such agreements or where criminal control has not been fully established, violent events continue to occur."

The consolidation of organized crime has led to "a kind of mafia peace" in areas they control, Ronna Rísquez, a Venezuelan investigative journalist, told us in Spanish.

The "humanitarian emergency" in Venezuela has also had implications for criminals as well. Venezuela, she said, "stopped being attractive for crime, because it no longer made sense to kidnap. ... It made no sense to steal, because everyone was poor. In Venezuela ... no one had money, people were starving and then for crime, for criminals, it was no longer profitable to have criminal activities."

Risquez said another reason for the decrease in crime is that Venezuelan authorities, sometime between 2015 and 2021, began "a large number of alleged extrajudicial executions" of people accused of belonging to criminal groups.

The OVV report notes that some criminals have also left Venezuela "seeking to continue their criminal life in other places where they find greater opportunities for profit," Briceño-

profitable to have criminal activities."

Case 3:25-cv-01766-EMC Document 166 Filed 06/03/25 Rísquez said another reason for the decrease in crime is that Venezuelan authorities, sometime between 2015 and 2021, began "a large number of alleged extrajudicial executions" of people accused of belonging to criminal groups.

The OVV report notes that some criminals have also left Venezuela "seeking to continue their criminal life in other places where they find greater opportunities for profit," Briceño-León said. But, he said, the vast majority of emigrants from Venezuela are "honest workers fleeing the country's poverty, looking for a job and a better future."

The vast majority of those fleeing Venezuela have settled in nearby South American countries. But more and more are making their way to the U.S. Prior to President Joe Biden taking office, relatively few Venezuelan emigrants were intercepted by U.S. Border Patrol. For most of the 2010s, less than 100 Venezuelans a year were caught trying to cross the southwest border illegally. The number grew to more than 2,000 in fiscal year 2019. But beginning in 2021 the numbers began to swell, and topped 187,000 and 200,000 in the 2022 and 2023 fiscal years, respectively.



A Venezuelan asylum seeker carries his daughter before they cross the Rio Grande into Brownsville, Texas, in December 2022. The U.S. has seen a surge of migrants from Venezuela since 2021. Photo by Veronica G. Cardenas/ AFP via Getty Images. As of January, the U.S. had the thirdlargest number of Venezuelan emigrants in the world (545,000) though Colombia remained by far the largest destination (2.9 million), followed by Peru (1.5 million). Brazil, Ecuador, Chile and Spain each had roughly the same number as the U.S. Page 209 of 342

Criminal groups with origins in Venezuela have quickly spread to neighboring South American countries where most Venezuelans have settled. According to a U.S. State Department trafficking report for Colombia released in 2023, "El Tren de Aragua — Venezuela's most powerful criminal gang — and the National Liberation Army (ELN) operate sex trafficking networks in the border town of Villa del Rosario in the Norte de Santander department. These groups exploit Venezuelan migrants and internally

displaced Colombians in sex trafficking and take advantage of economic vulnerabilities and subject them to debt bondage."

And some criminals from Venezuela have come to the U.S.

Nieto, of the Venezuelan nongovernmental organization A Window to Freedom, attributed the decrease in crimes to the mass emigration from the country in recent years, a number, he said, that "undoubtedly does not exclude criminals."

There is some evidence Tren de Aragua gang members have also made their way to the U.S. The U.S. Border Patrol told CNN en Español that 38 potential members of Tren de Aragua were arrested at the border between October 2022 and October 2023.

On April 5, U.S. Border Patrol Chief Jason Owens posted on social media to "[w]atch out for this gang. It is the most powerful in Venezuela, known for murder, drug trafficking, sex crimes, extortion, & other violent acts."

And suspected members of the Venezuelan gang have been linked to a number of crimes in the U.S., including the murder of a former Venezuelan police officer in Miami in November, and a spate of cell phone robberies in New York City.

In March, Sen. Marco Rubio and Rep. María Elvira Salazar led a group of 23 federal legislators petitioning Biden to formally designate Tren de Aragua as a transnational criminal organization, which would allow the U.S. to freeze assets its members have in the U.S. In a Senate subcommittee hearing on April 11, Chris Landberg, deputy assistant

the U.S., including the murder of a former Venezuelan police officer in Miami in November 06/03/25

and a spate of cell phone robberies in New York City.

Page 210 of 342

In March, Sen. Marco Rubio and Rep. María Elvira Salazar led a group of 23 federal legislators petitioning Biden to formally designate Tren de Aragua as a transnational criminal organization, which would allow the U.S. to freeze assets its members have in the U.S. In a Senate subcommittee hearing on April 11, Chris Landberg, deputy assistant secretary of the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs at the U.S. Department of State, told Rubio that "we're closely tracking Tren De Aragua and have similar concerns to you," though he declined to discuss internal deliberations about its designation.

Rísquez, author of "The Aragua Train: The gang that revolutionized organized crime in Latin America," said that while some criminals are inevitably among those who have emigrated from Venezuela to the U.S., "There is no element, no evidence, nothing that indicates that in Venezuela prisoners are being released to leave or to be sent to the United States to commit crimes. There is no plan from the Venezuelan government that points toward that."

Prison Releases

Complicating the issue is that Venezuela has, in fact, been actively trying to reduce its prison population.

Venezuela has been seeking to address severe overcrowding in its preventive detention centers, which were only designed to hold inmates for 48 hours but have become the de facto prisons of the country, Nieto said.

In March, the Presidential Commission for Judicial Revolution announced the release of 100 inmates from such a facility as part of a directive issued by Maduro to evaluate the preventive detention facilities and address overcrowding.

Preventive detention centers were designed to be temporary holding cells for people awaiting a court date. But that's not what they became, Nieto said.

"The Ministry for the Penitentiary Service many years ago gave the order not to allow the entry of new people [to the traditional prisons] if they did not authorize it," Nieto said. "This ministry prohibited the entry of new inmates into Venezuelan prisons, which is where they should be. This caused the preventive care centers to collapse and the preventive care centers to become, as they are today, the new prisons of Venezuela."

Nieto estimates there are as many as 70,000 people held in these preventive care centers, far greater than they were designed to house.

In response, the government created two commissions to review the cases of prisoners and to determine if they should be "granted freedom," Nieto said. "In fact, there are many who have been released."

While some in the U.S. have claimed the Venezuelan government is releasing its most violent criminals, the Venezuelan government doesn't disclose the charges against those released, so there's no way of knowing, he said.

"Look, people are released, first, in many cases because they have been detained there for several years and a trial has not even been initiated against them," Nieto said. "Also because in many cases they are minor crimes that do not merit such heavy penalties. So, well, that frees people. There are cases [of those] that have even already served the sentence established at that time."

In addition, the Venezuelan government under Maduro has attempted recently to militarily regain control of traditional prisons, whose operation had previously been ceded to criminal groups. The leader of the Tren de Aragua gang, Héctor Rusthenford Guerrero Flores, and hundreds of others escaped from the prison where the gang originated shortly before the prison was raided by government authorities in September, CNN en Español reported. He remains at large, and InSight reported that it is believed he is being protected by criminal associates in a mining town in Venezuela near the border with Guyana.

According to the World Prison Brief website maintained by Helen Fair of the Institute for

groups. The leader of the Tren de Aragua gang, Héctor Rusthenford Guerrero Flores, and hundreds of Gasses 225 february 165 Where the Bang originated 166 thy beiled 06/03/25 Page 211 of 342

prison was raided by government authorities in September, CNN en Español reported. He remains at large, and InSight reported that it is believed he is being protected by criminal associates in a mining town in Venezuela near the border with Guyana.

According to the World Prison Brief website maintained by Helen Fair of the Institute for Crime and Justice Police Research, Venezuela's prison population (not including pre-trial detainees) declined from 37,543 in 2020 to 32,200 in 2022 (and had been declining for the four years before that as well).

The government's efforts to retake control of the prisons "has involved relocating some prisoners from one prison to another, and there are some prisoners who are unaccounted for," LaSusa, of InSight, said. "However, the Venezuelan government has no known policy of selecting particular inmates to send them outside the country."

Speculation

Again, Trump has provided no evidence to back up his claim that the Venezuelan government is emptying its prisons and sending inmates to the U.S.

Some supporters of Trump's immigration policy say that, while perhaps speculative, there is good reason to believe Trump *may* be right.

Andrew Arthur of the Center for Immigration Studies, which advocates lower immigration, wrote a column noting that Cuba did something like that in the 1980s, and he argued that since there are ideological and political ties between Cuba and Venezuela, "the idea may not be as specious as some have claimed."

In 1980, Cuban leader Fidel Castro allowed the mass migration of some 125,000 Cubans to the U.S. in what was known as the Mariel boatlift.

"Most were true refugees, many had families here, and the great majority has settled into American communities without mishap," the Washington Post wrote in 1983. "But the Cuban dictator played a cruel joke. He opened his jails and mental hospitals and put their inmates on the boats too."

According to the Post, about 22,000 of the new arrivals "freely admitted that they were convicts." Some were political prisoners, but others were convicts who had committed serious felonies, including violent crimes.

Arthur pointed to a drop in Venezuelan crime, the close alignment between the Cuban and Venezuelan governments, and anecdotal evidence of Venezuelans committing crimes in the

"None of this is evidence of anything," Arthur told us, but "all of this does raise some questions."

But the bar is higher than that for such a definitive and repeated claim by Trump, and numerous officials say they have seen no evidence to support Trump's claim. (Not to mention the fact that Trump claims the emptying of prisons and mental institutions is happening "with many other countries.")

"This claim has come up repeatedly about various countries, Venezuela is just the latest example," Julia Gelatt, associate director of the U.S. Immigration Policy Program at the Migration Policy Institute, told us. "While the actions of institutions in Venezuela is not our specialty, we are unaware of any action by Venezuelan authorities (or those of any other country) to empty its jails and prisons or its mental-health institutions to send criminals or people with mental-health issues to the U.S."

"They are neither emptying the prisons nor the mental shelters to send people to the United States, nor is the reduction in crime associated with [Trump's claim]," Risquez, the Venezuelan investigative journalist, told us. "Those statements by former President Trump, it seems to me that they have no basis, that they are political, that they have to do with, well, some intention to criminalize migration or the processes that are occurring in the United States with migrants."

In an interview with CBS News in March, Owens, the U.S. Border Patrol chief, was asked if it

"They are neither emptying the prisons nor the mental shelters to send people to the United States, nor i பெரைய் பெரும் பாகும் பாகும்

Venezuelan investigative journalist, told us. "Those statements by former President Trump, it seems to me that they have no basis, that they are political, that they have to do with, well, some intention to criminalize migration or the processes that are occurring in the United States with migrants."

In an interview with CBS News in March, Owens, the U.S. Border Patrol chief, was asked if it was accurate — as Trump has said — that "we have millions and millions of people coming from jails and prisons."

"I don't know," Owens said. "I don't know if other countries are releasing people from jails and those folks that got released are making their way up, or not, I don't know what the numbers would be. It's the unknown that scares us. I can tell you that there are at least 140,000 that we know about that have gotten away [since October], that we have detected but have not been able to apprehend. And I know there's a good likelihood that there's plenty more that we have not detected that also got away. Is it possible that at least a portion of them come from violent criminal backgrounds or served time in prison in other countries? Absolutely."

But among the large number of Venezuelan migrants who are crossing illegally into the U.S. and then seeking asylum status, "I think they absolutely are by and large good people," Owens said.

Nonetheless, he said, there is "a very small amount" among those apprehended that have criminal backgrounds, including "convicted sexual predators" and "convicted gang members." Owens said it is only logical that there is a "higher incidence" of criminals among the so-called gotaways, because they are afraid to turn themselves in for CBP scrutiny.

"Most of the folks who we're encountering that are turning themselves in, they're coming across because they're either fleeing terrible conditions or they're economic migrants looking for a better way of life," Owens said. "It doesn't make them bad people. It's just that they're not being respectful of the laws that we've established as a country and they're actually putting people in this country in harm's way because they're pulling the border security apparatus off of task."

Editor's note: FactCheck.org does not accept advertising. We rely on grants and individual donations from people like you. Please consider a donation. Credit card donations may be made through our "Donate" page. If you prefer to give by check, send to: FactCheck.org, Annenberg Public Policy Center, 202 S. 36th St., Philadelphia, PA 19104.

Categories FactCheck Posts Featured Posts

Tags 2024 Elections Presidential Election 2024

Location Venezuela

Issue Crime Illegal Immigration

People Donald Trump

PREVIOUS STORY
Posts Make Unsupported Claim About
Kansas City Chiefs and Pride Month

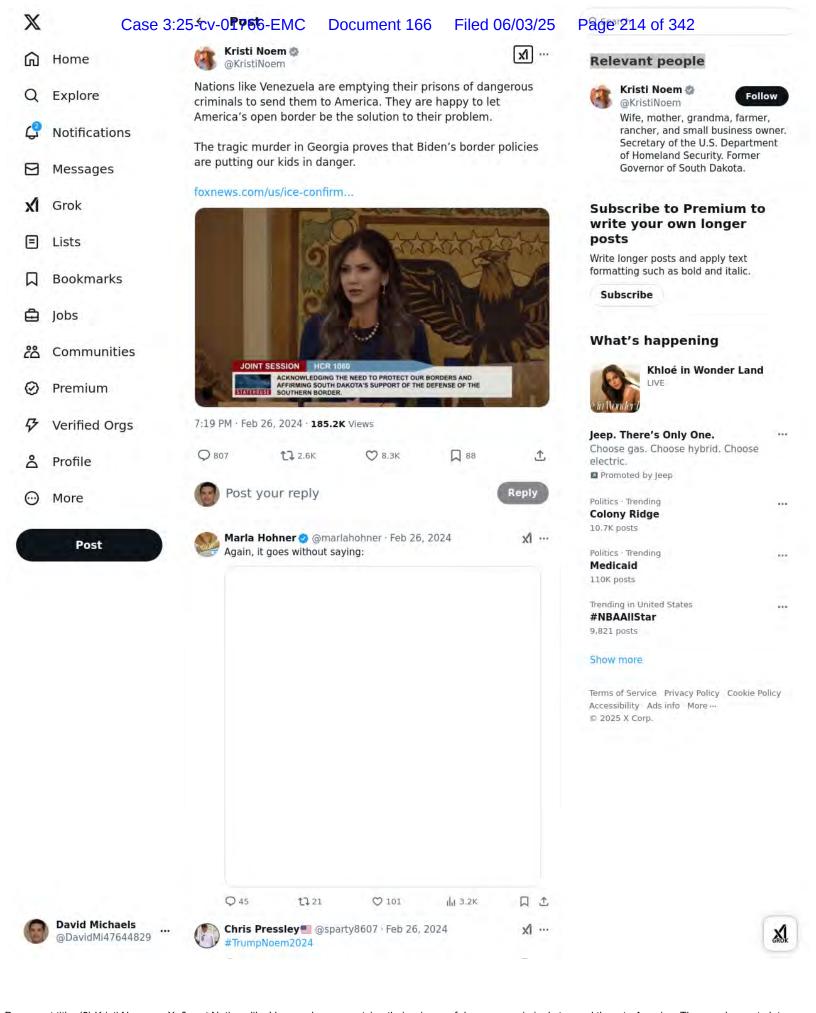
NEXT STORY
Posts Misrepresent Old Video of Missile
Test as Russian Ships Visit Cuba

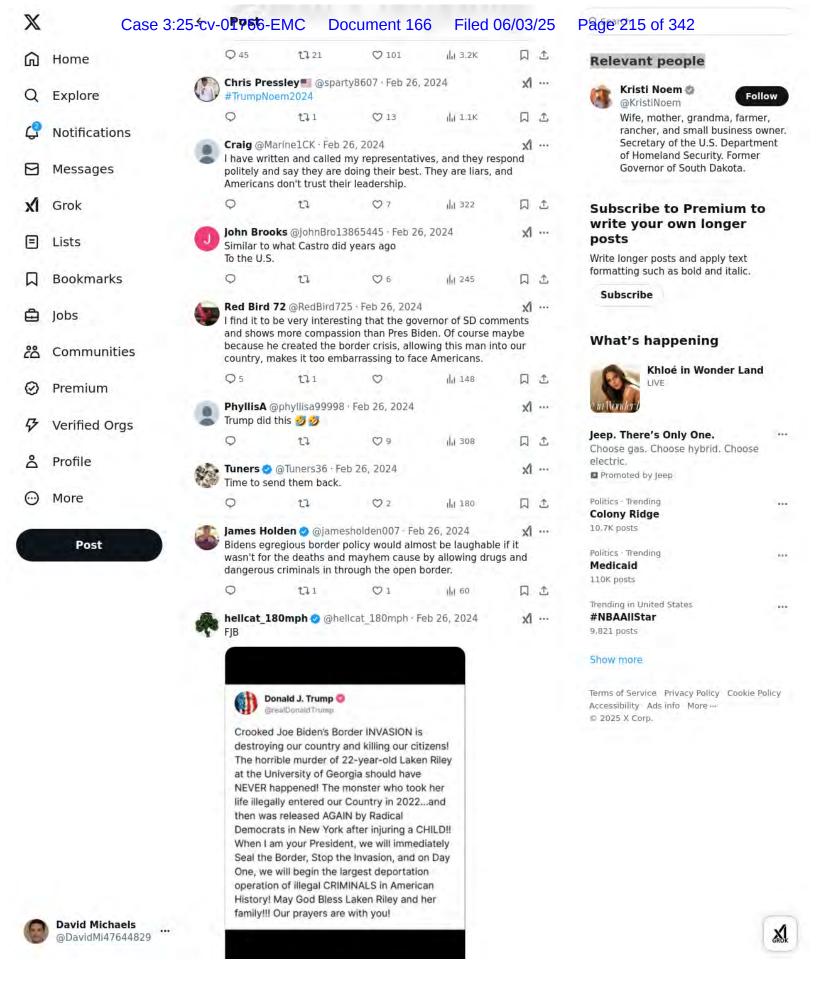
ARCHIVES PRIVACY COPYRIGHT POLICY CONTACT US REPORT ACCESSIBILITY ISSUES AND GET HELP

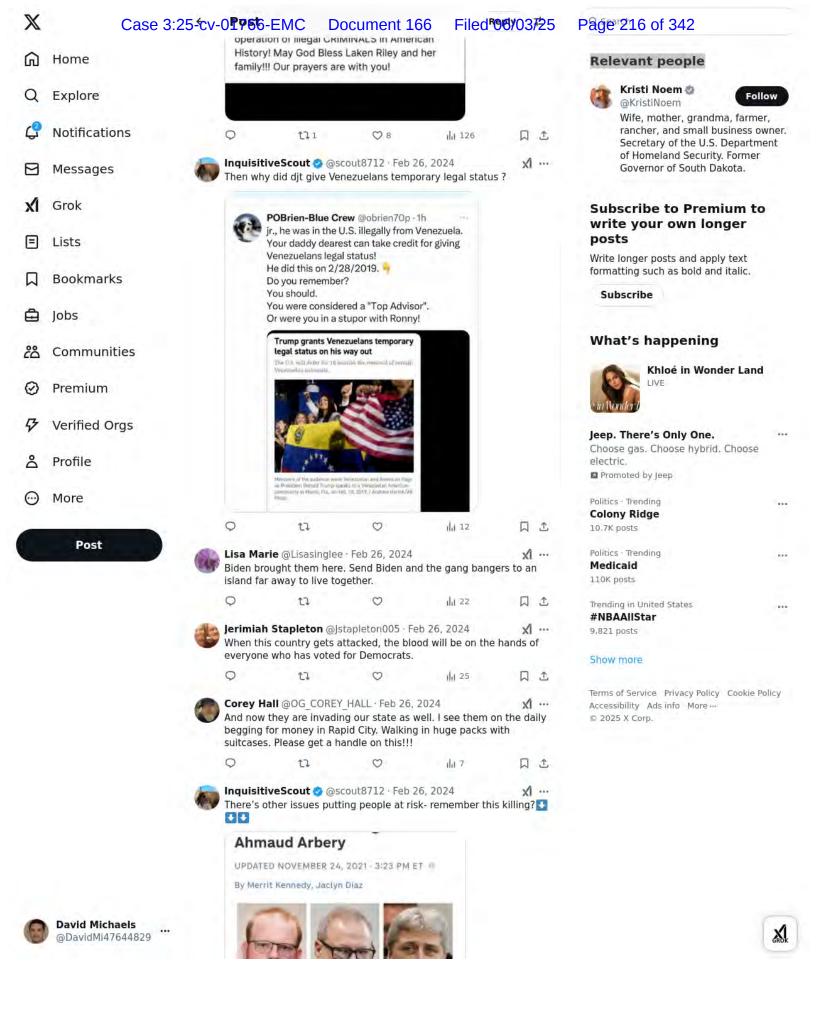
© Copyright 2025 FactCheck.org ®

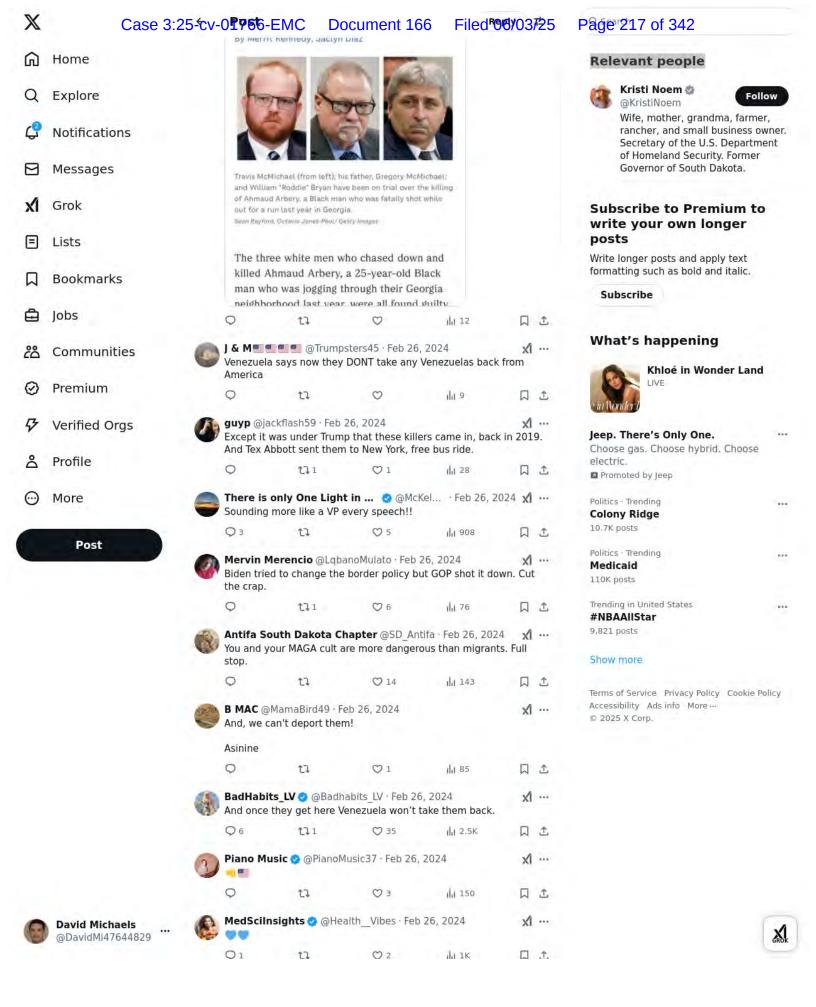
A Project of The Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania

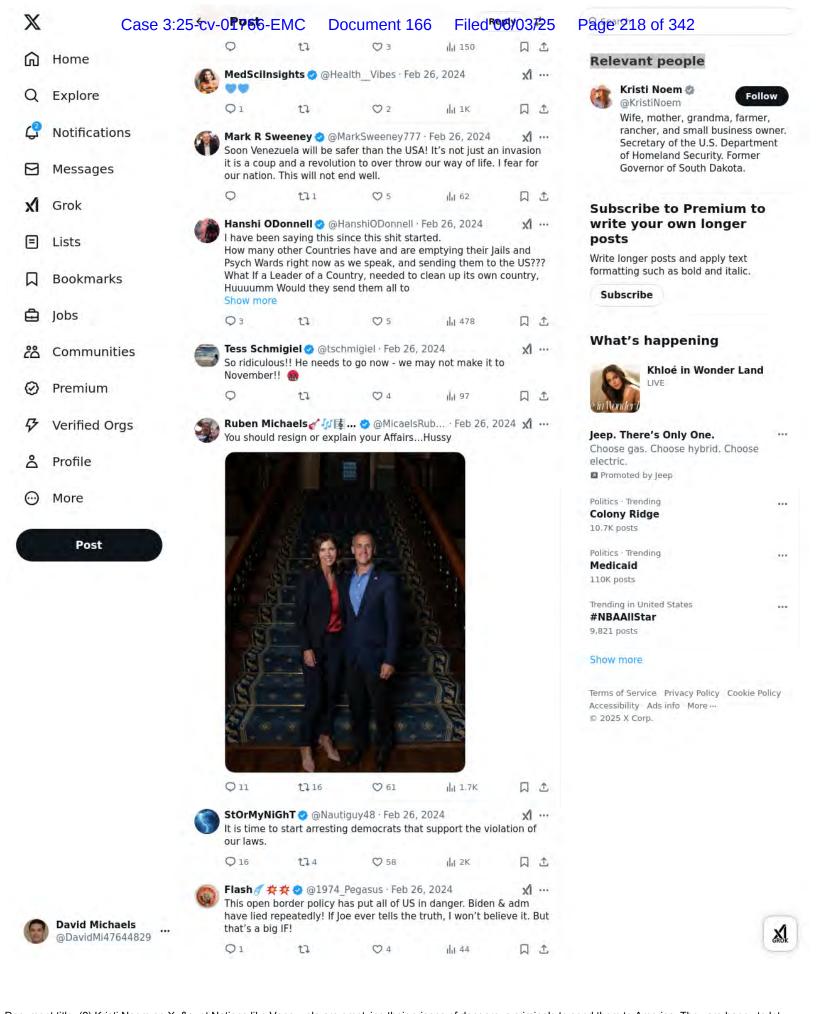
Exhibit 24

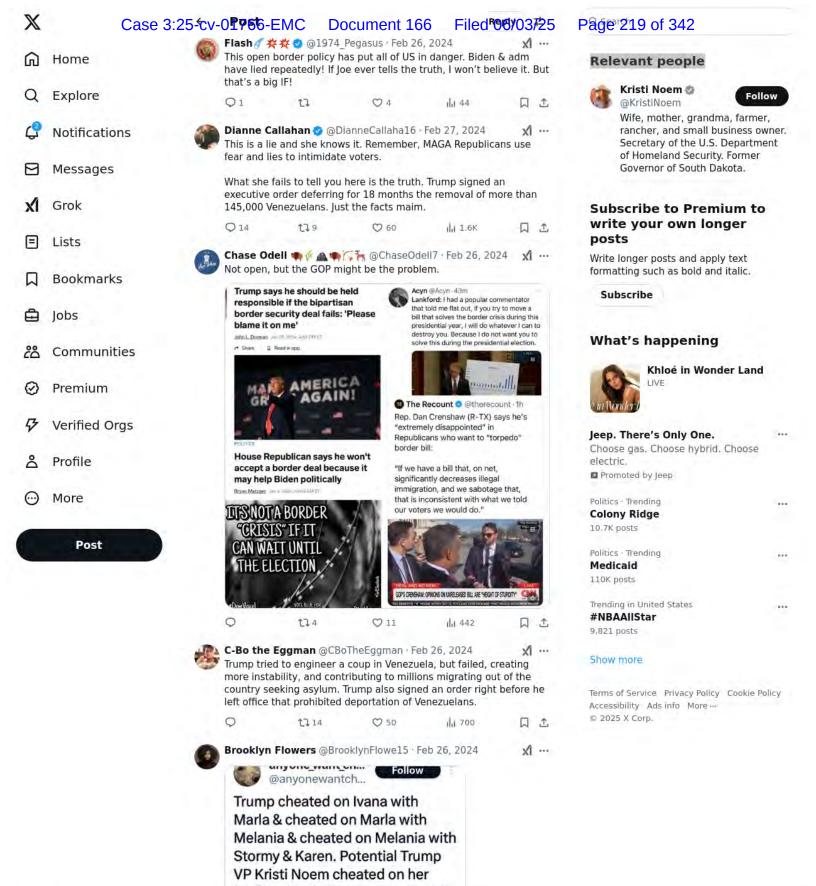












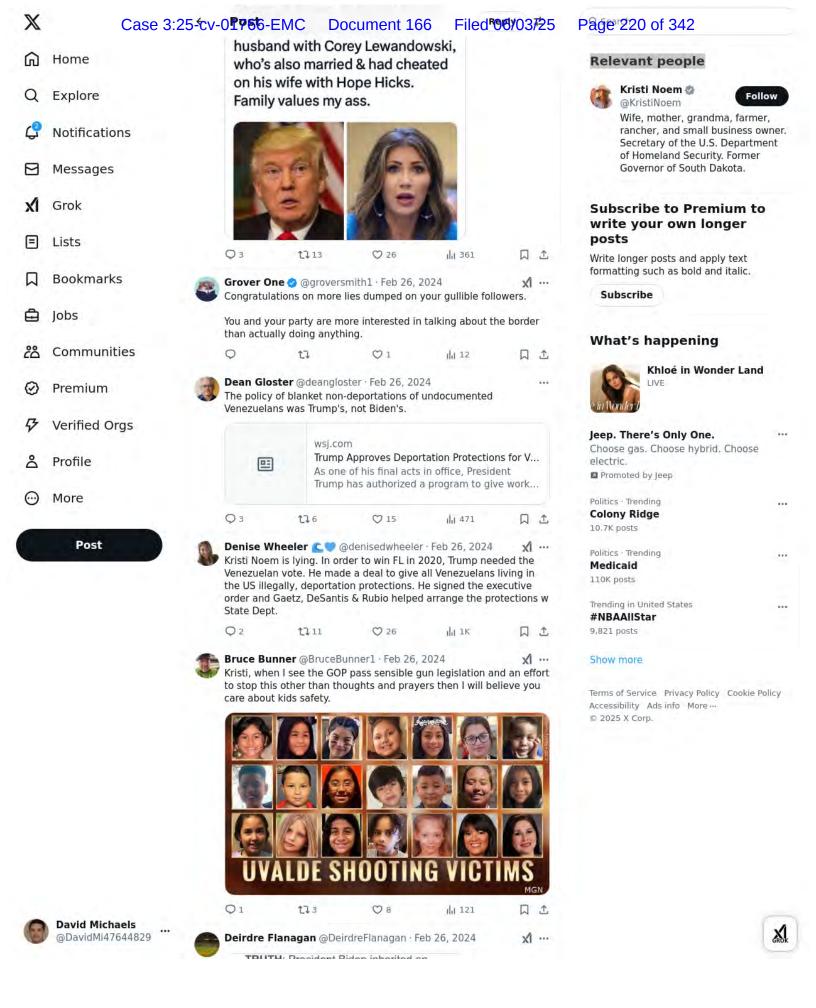


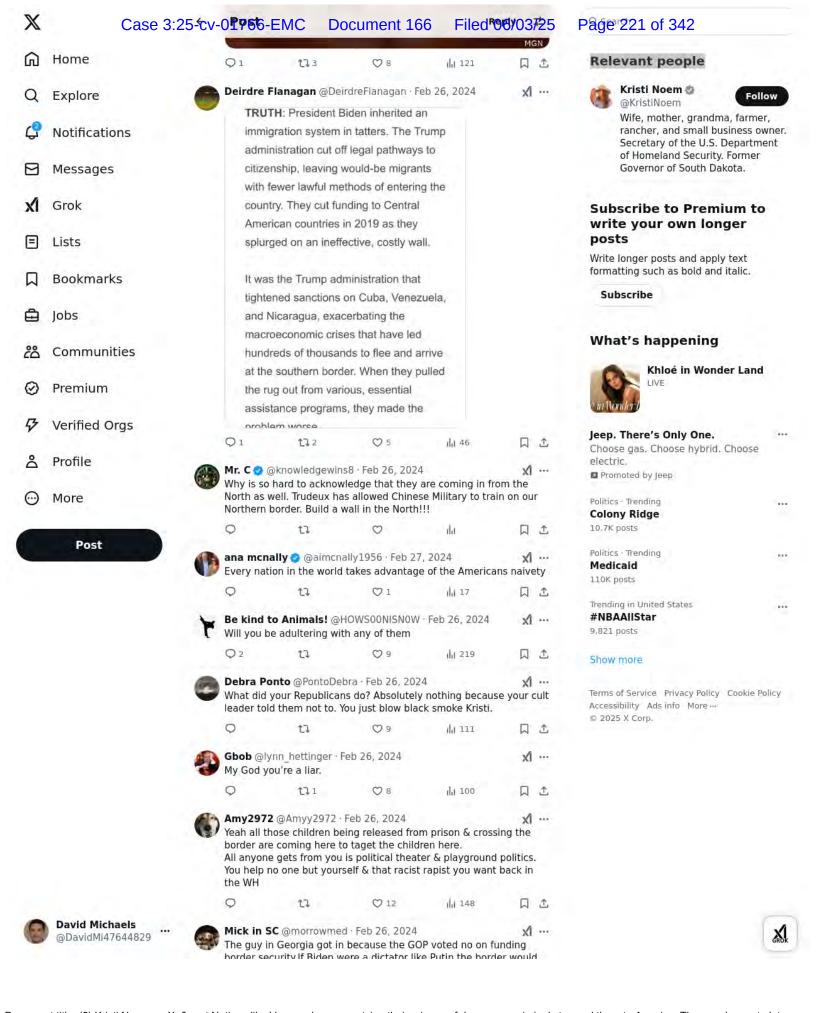


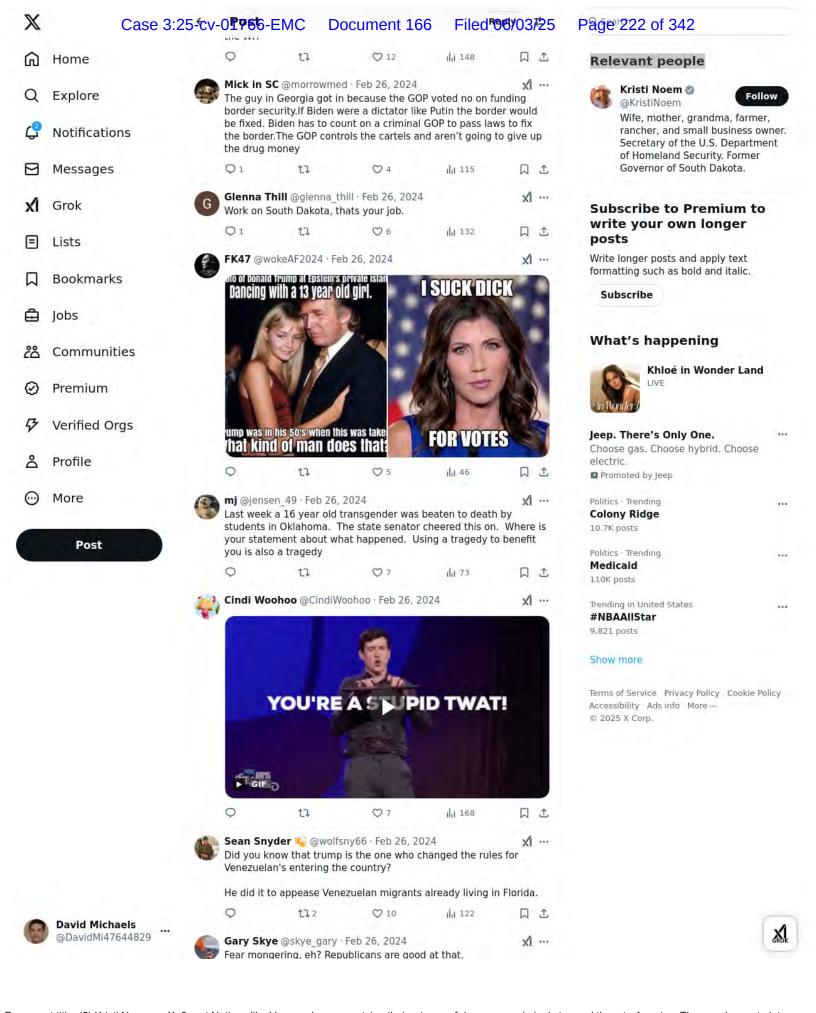
husband with Corey Lewandowski, who's also married & had cheated

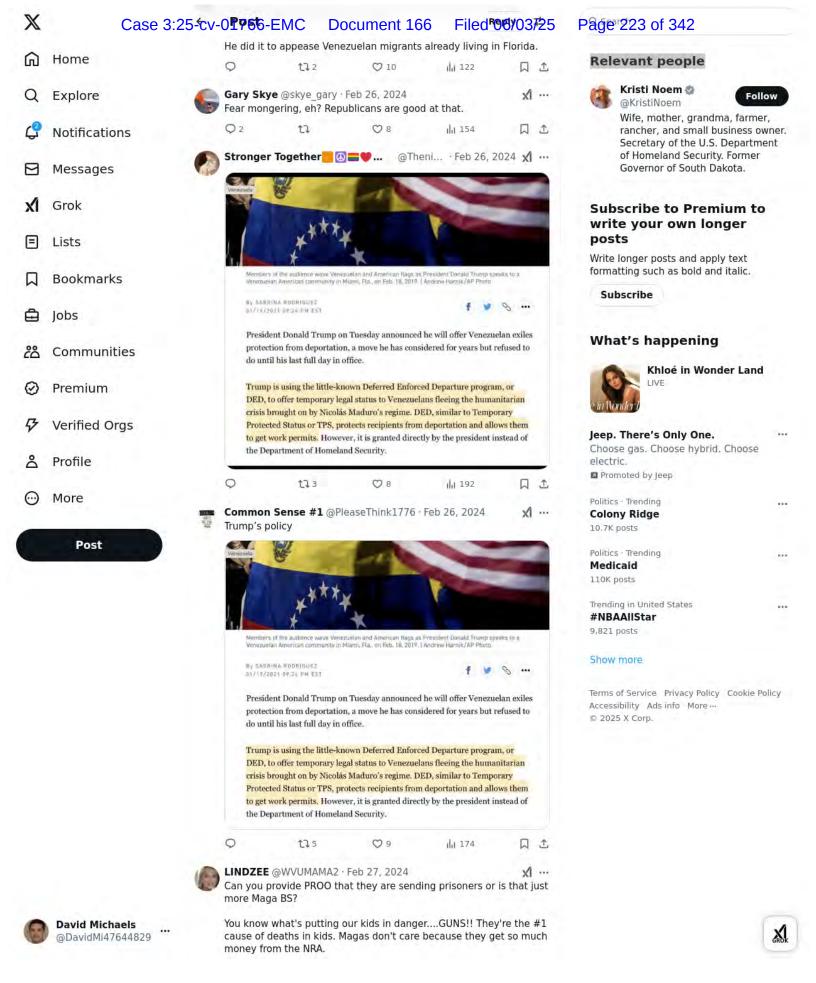
on his wife with Hope Hicks.

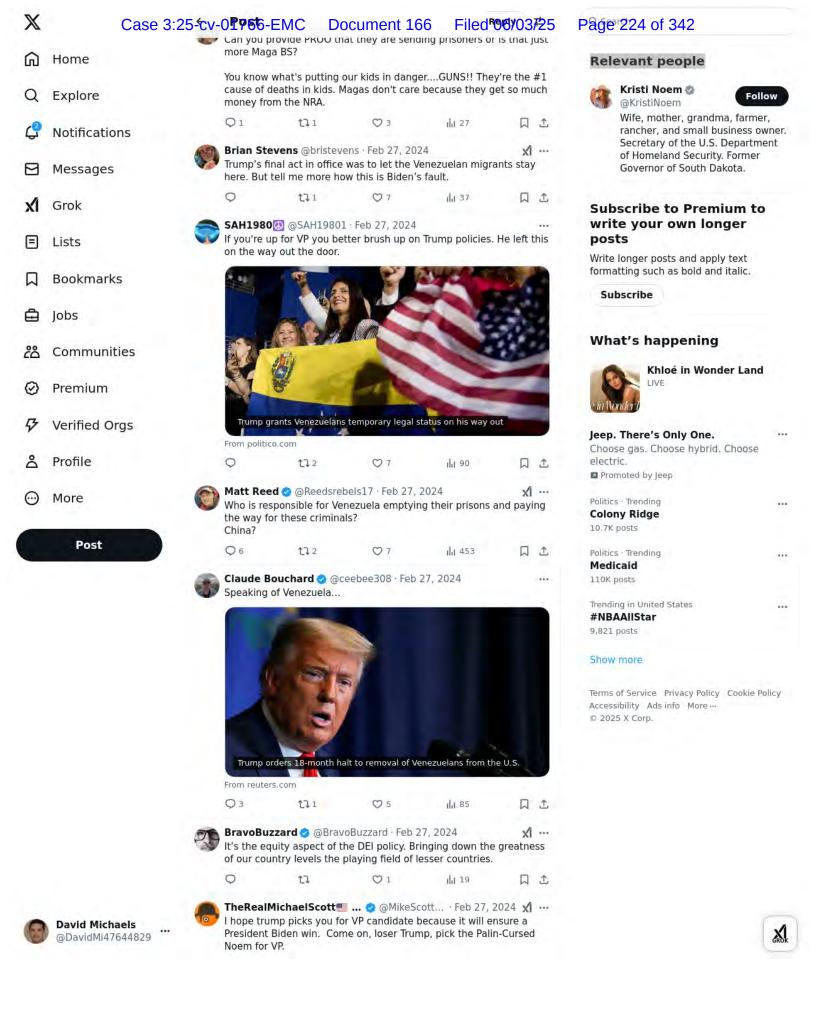
Family values my ass.

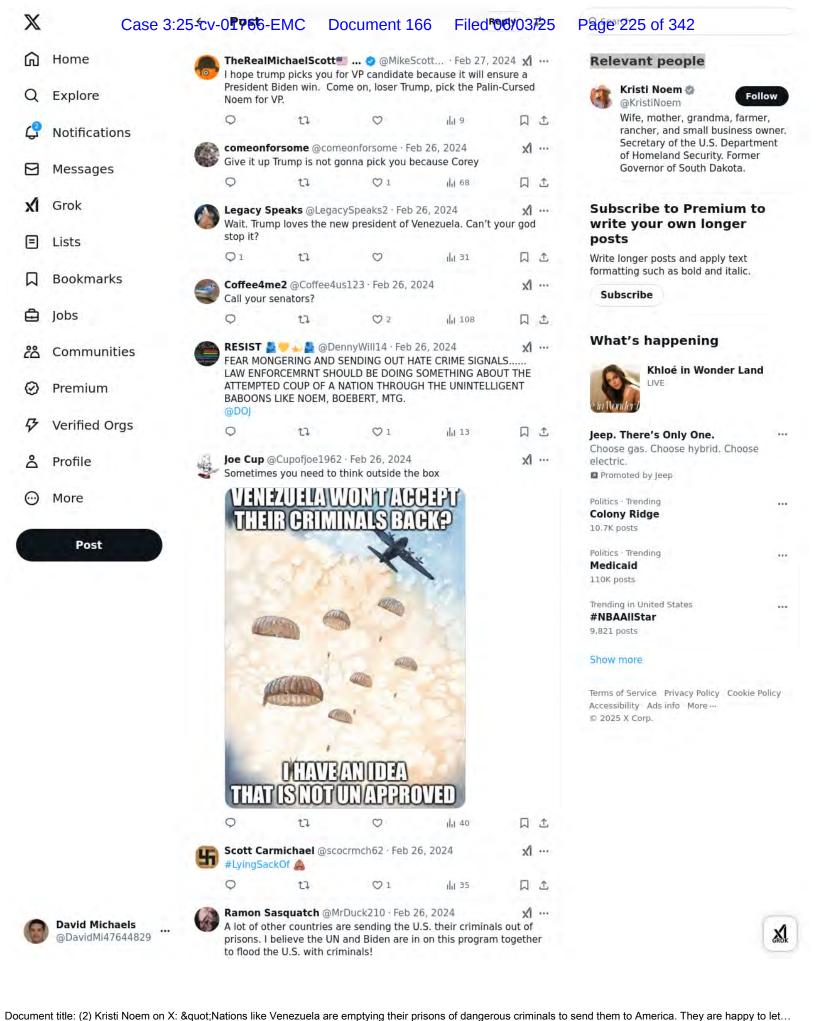


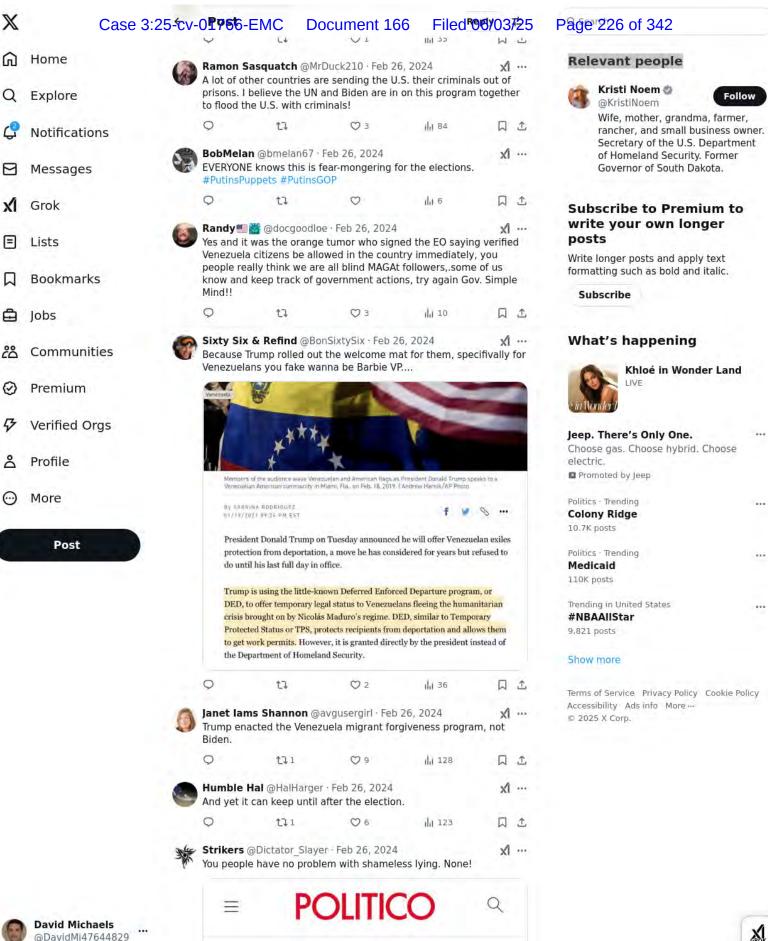




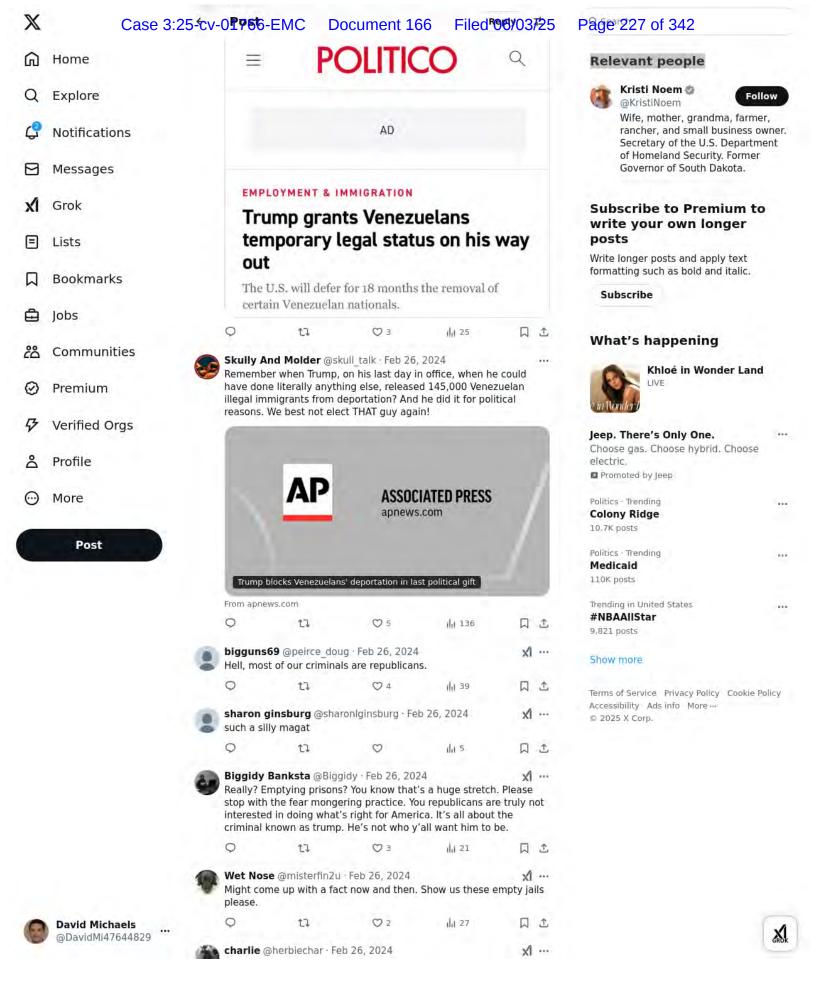


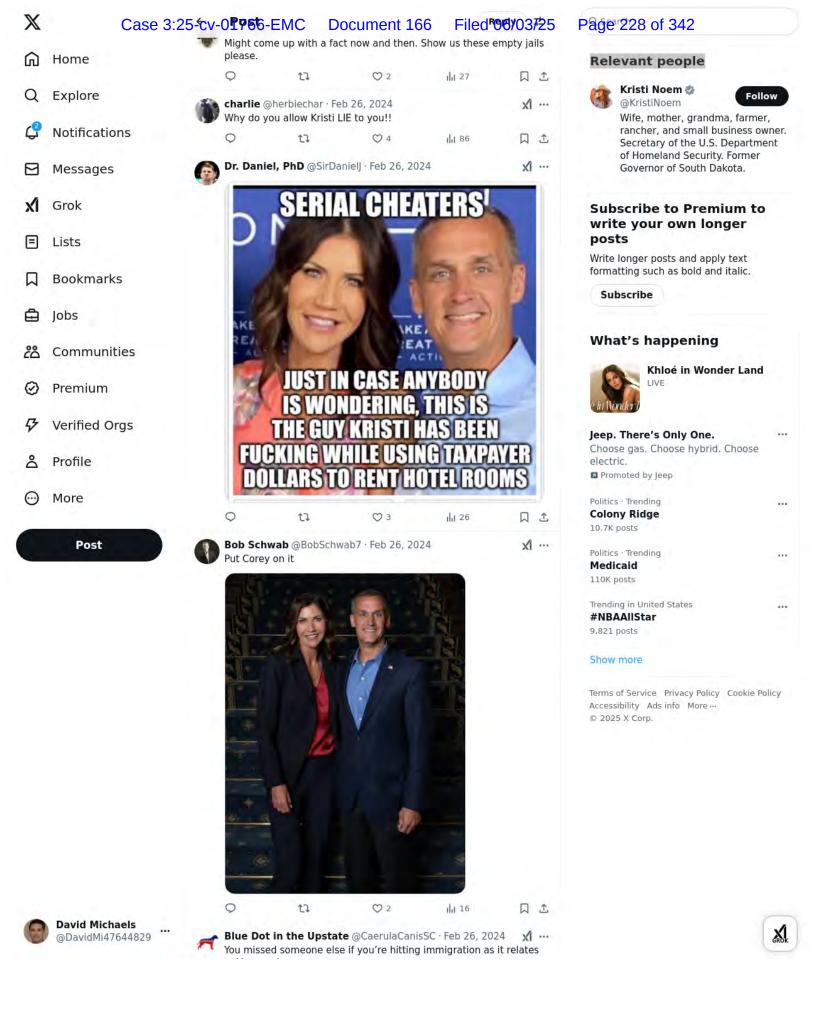


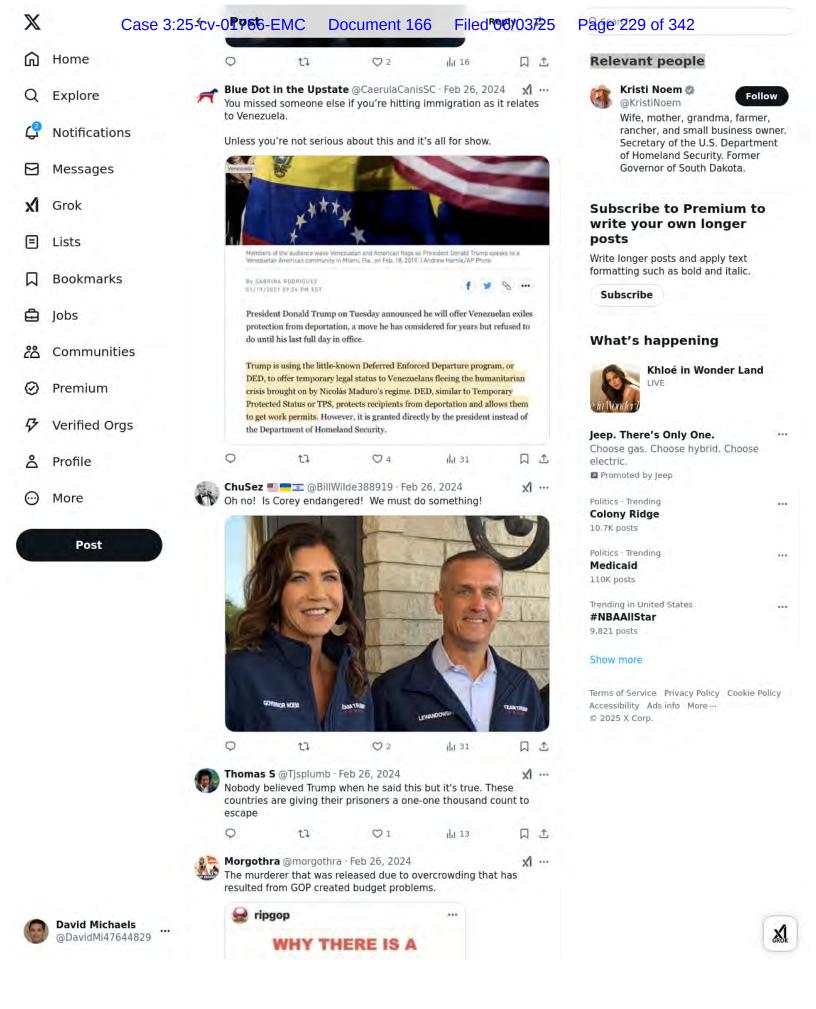


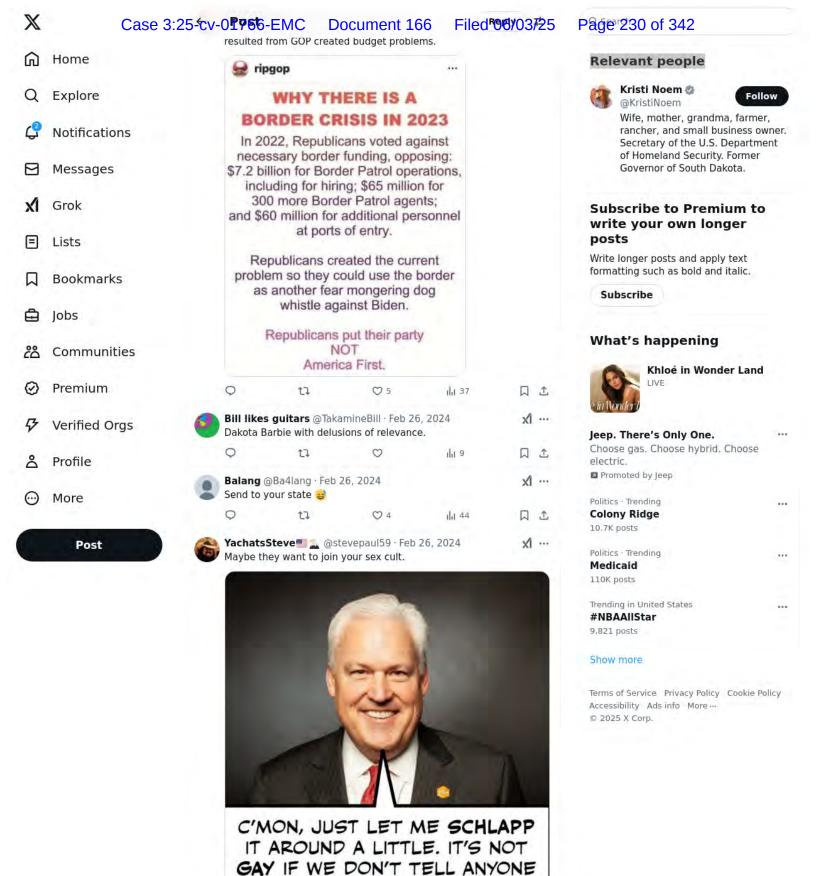








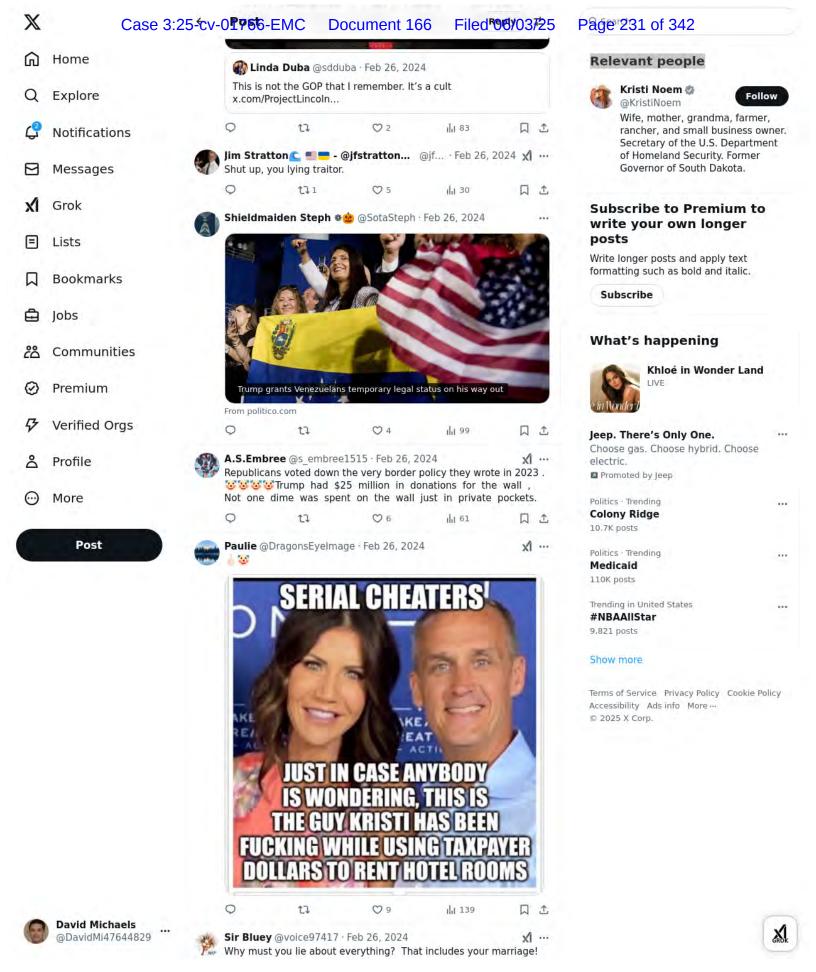


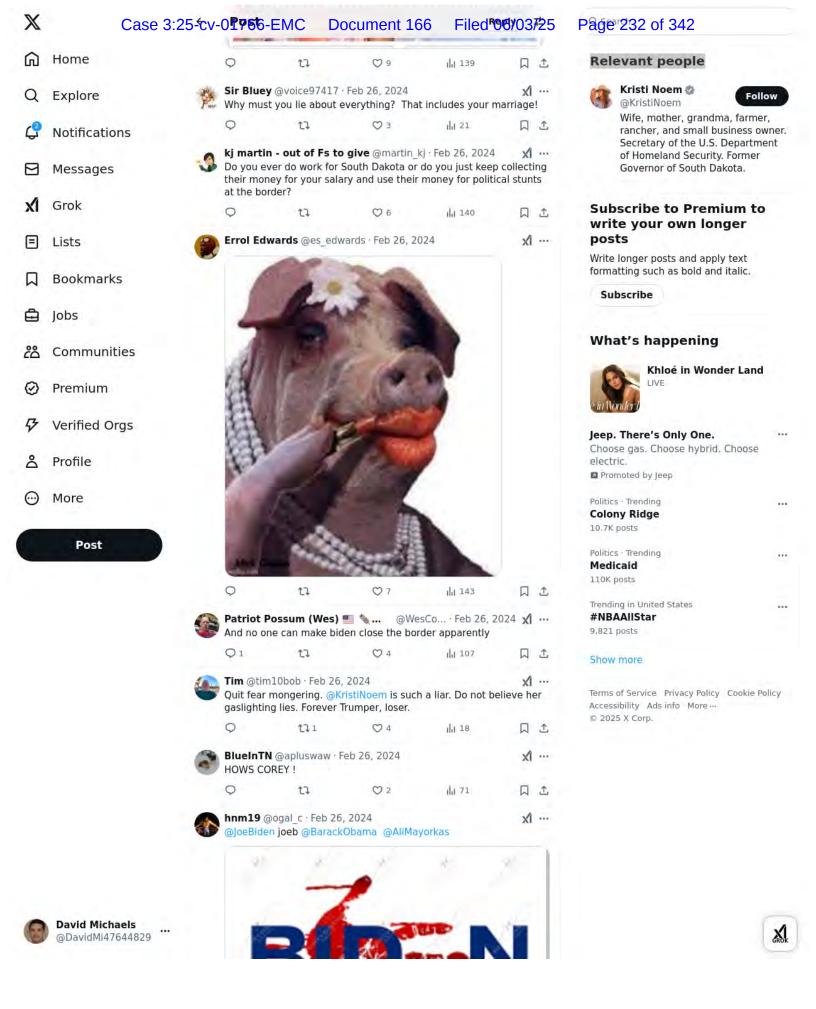


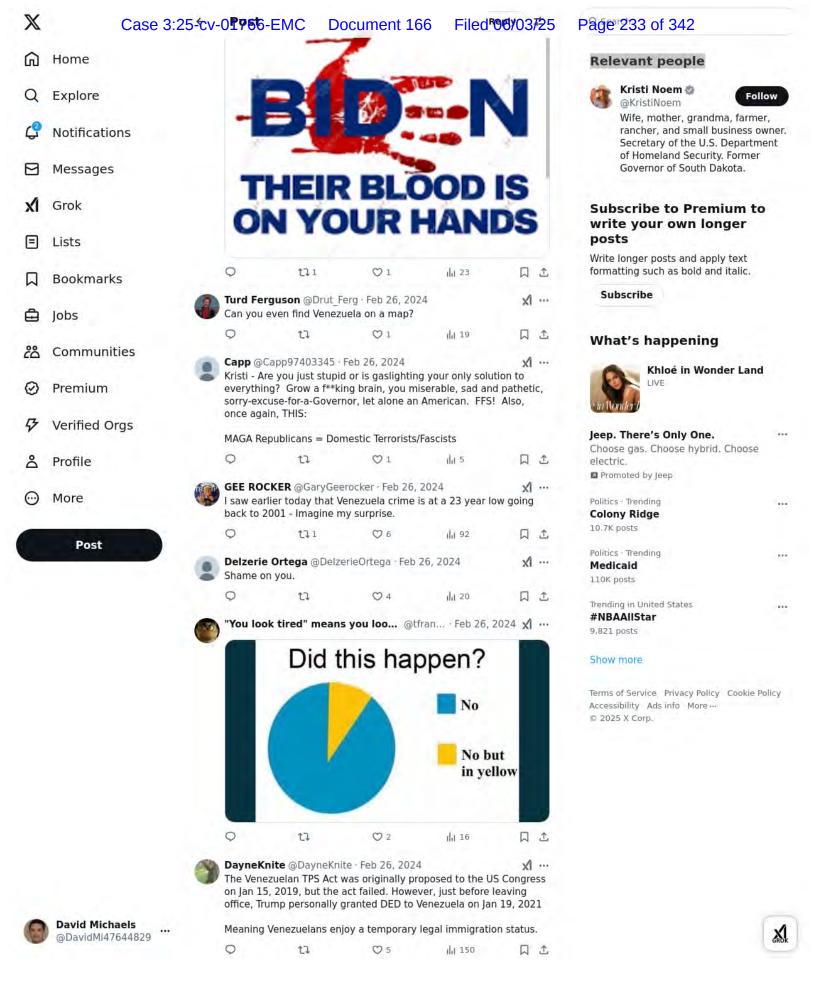


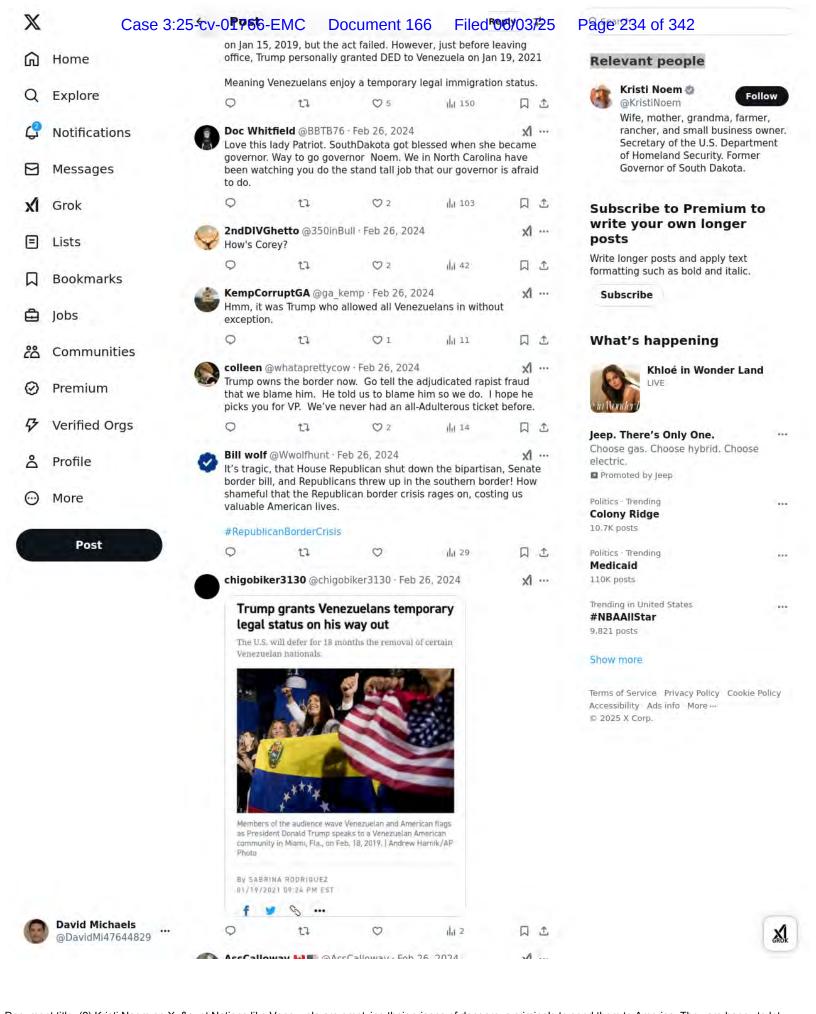


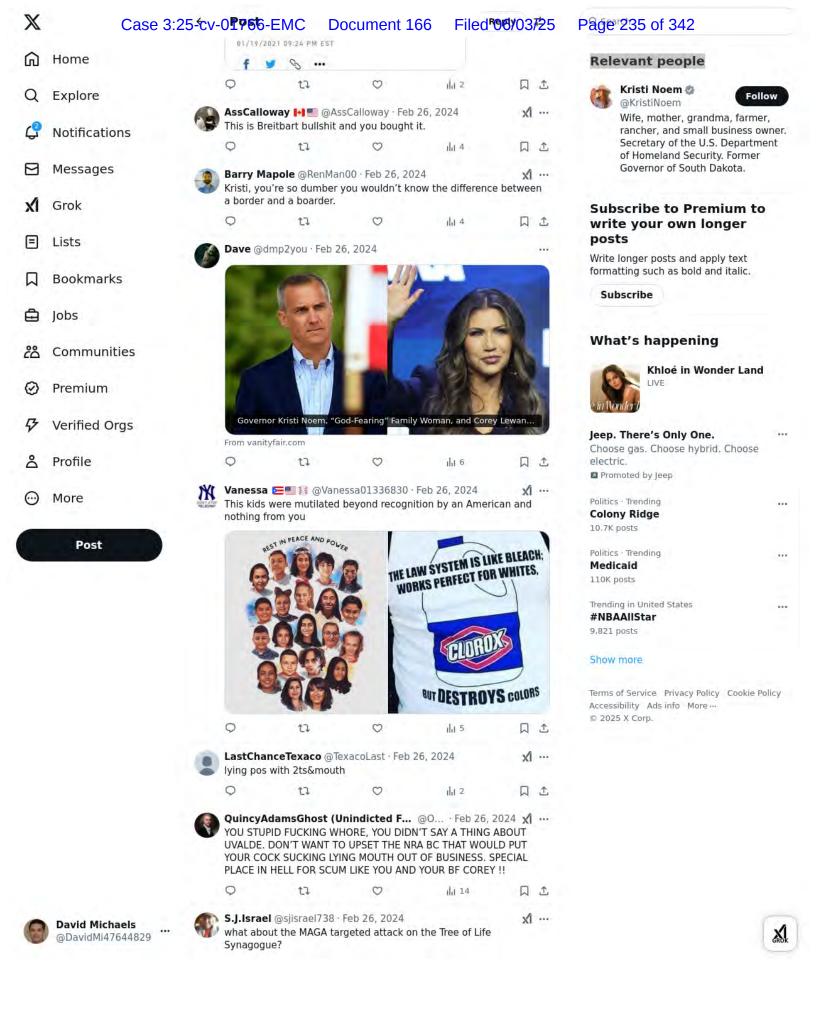


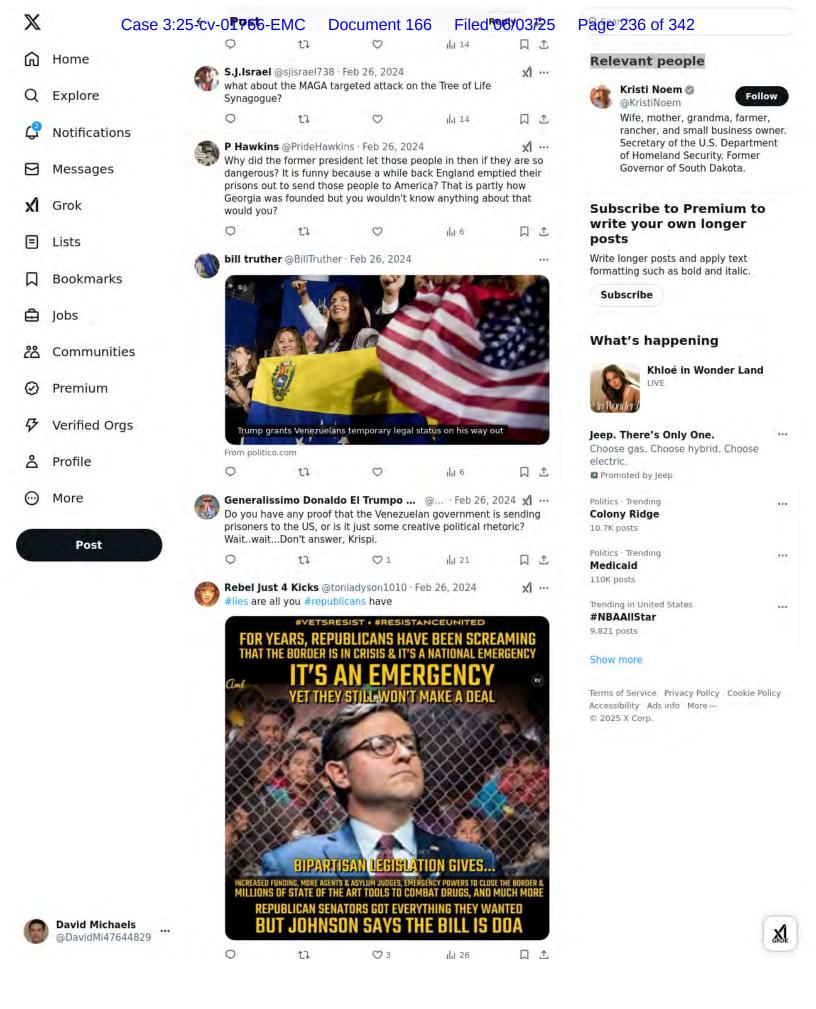


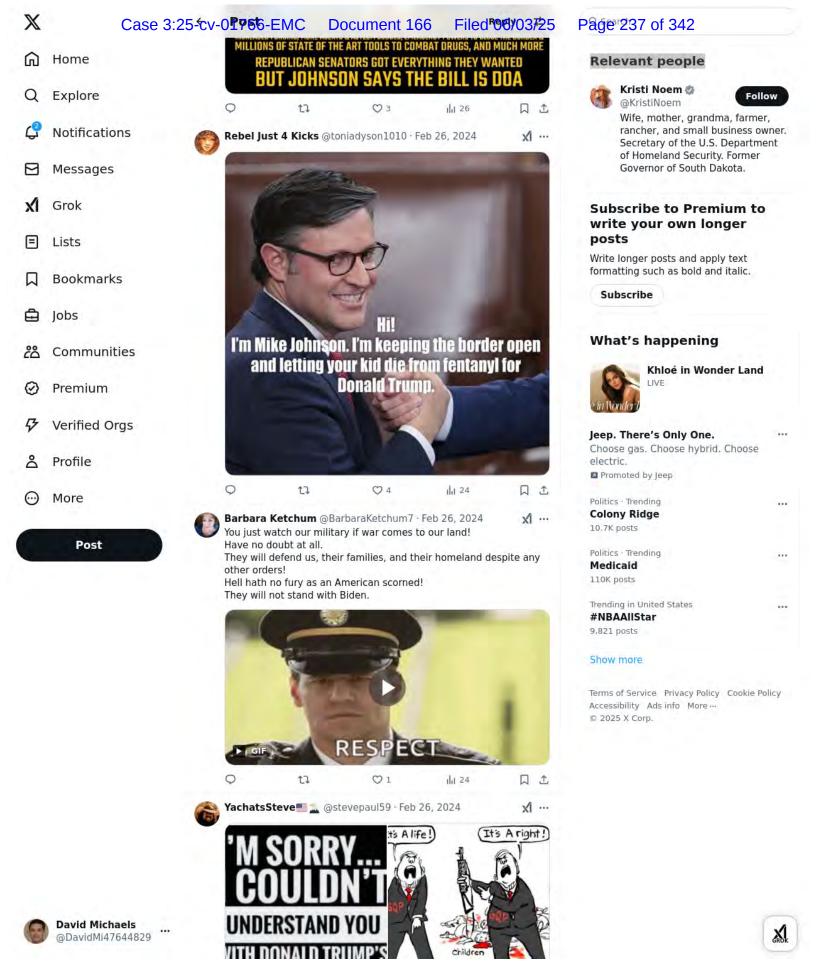


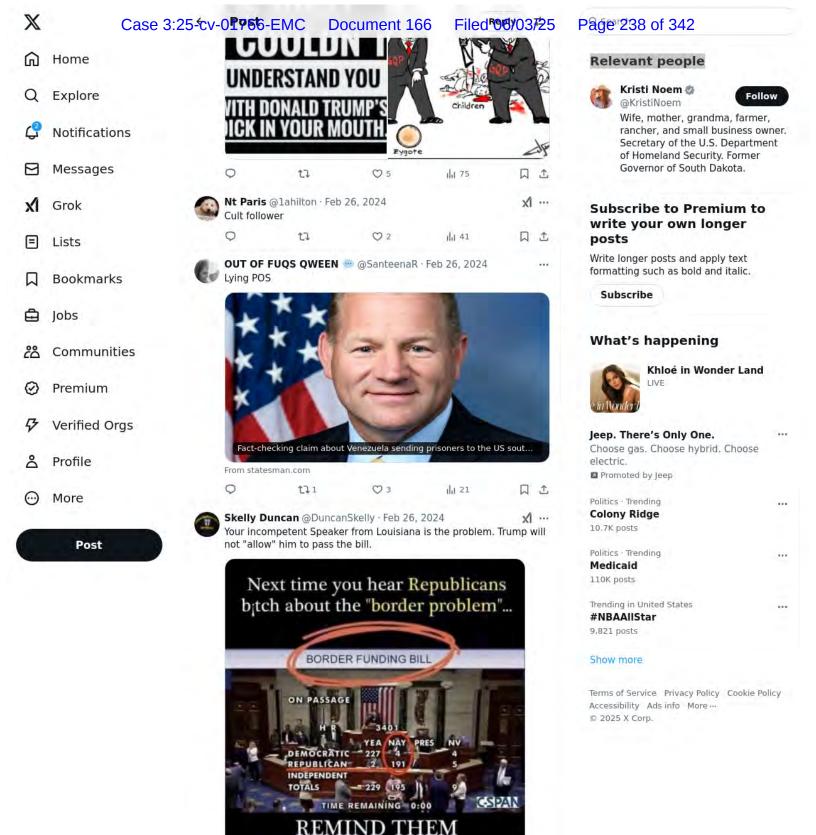














da 4

□ .↑.

THEY'RE THE PROBLEM!

0

0

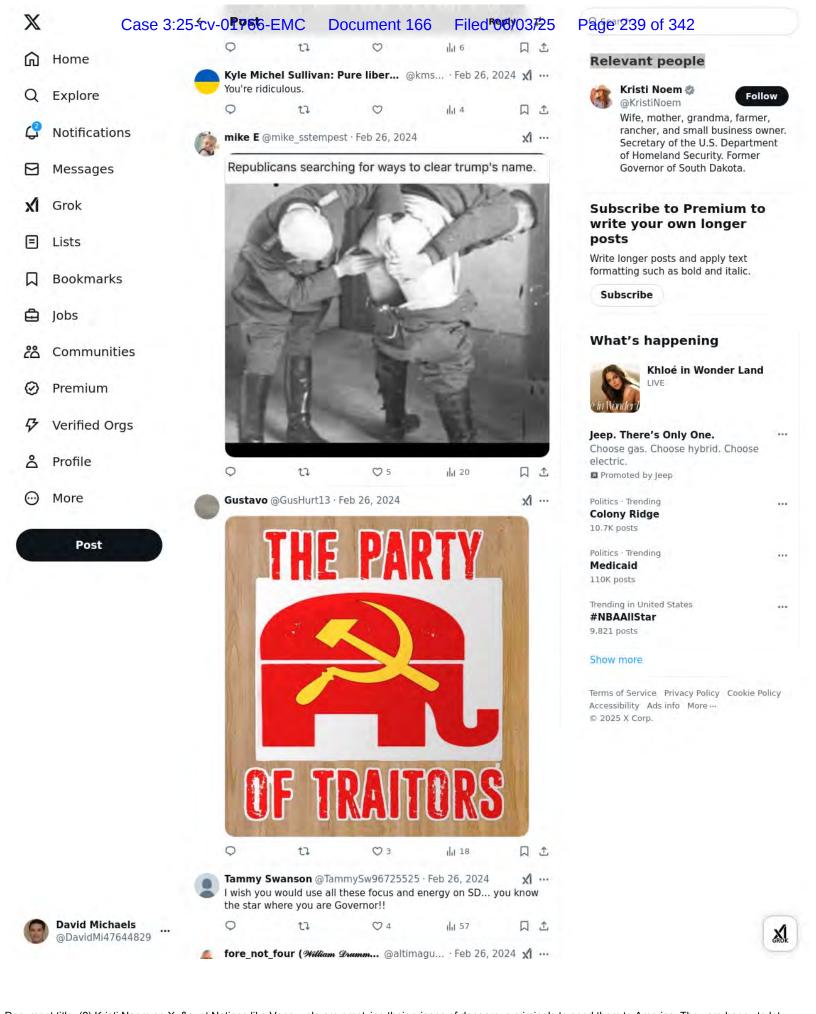
You're ridiculous.

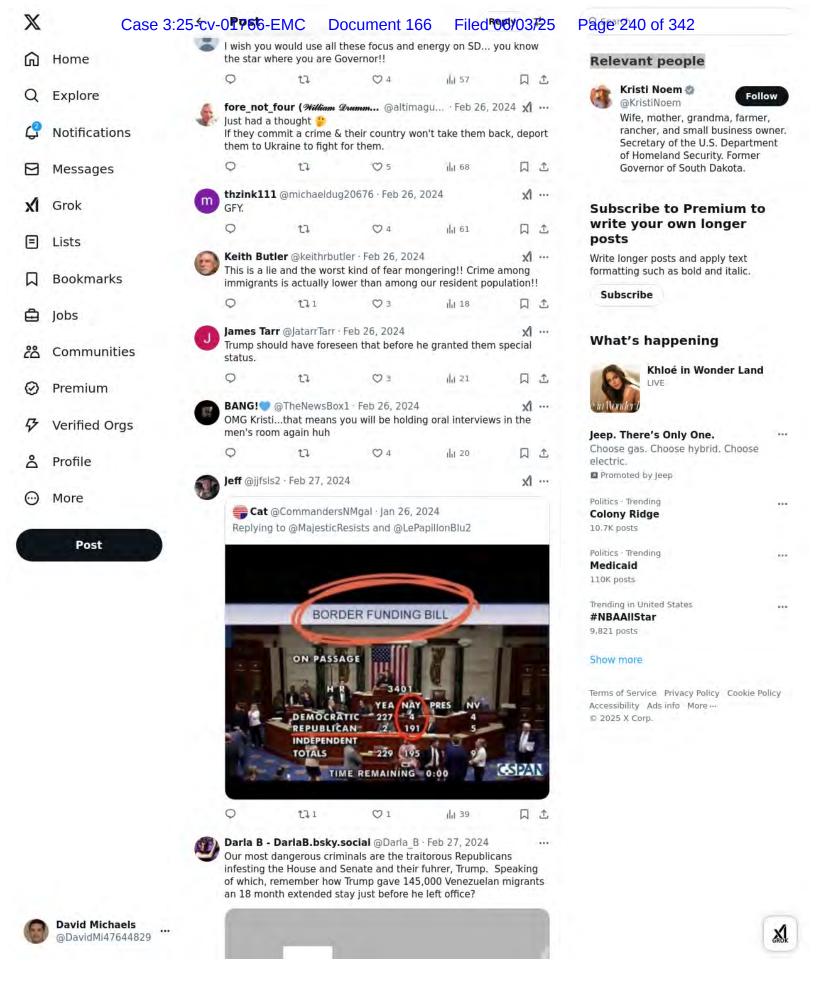
17

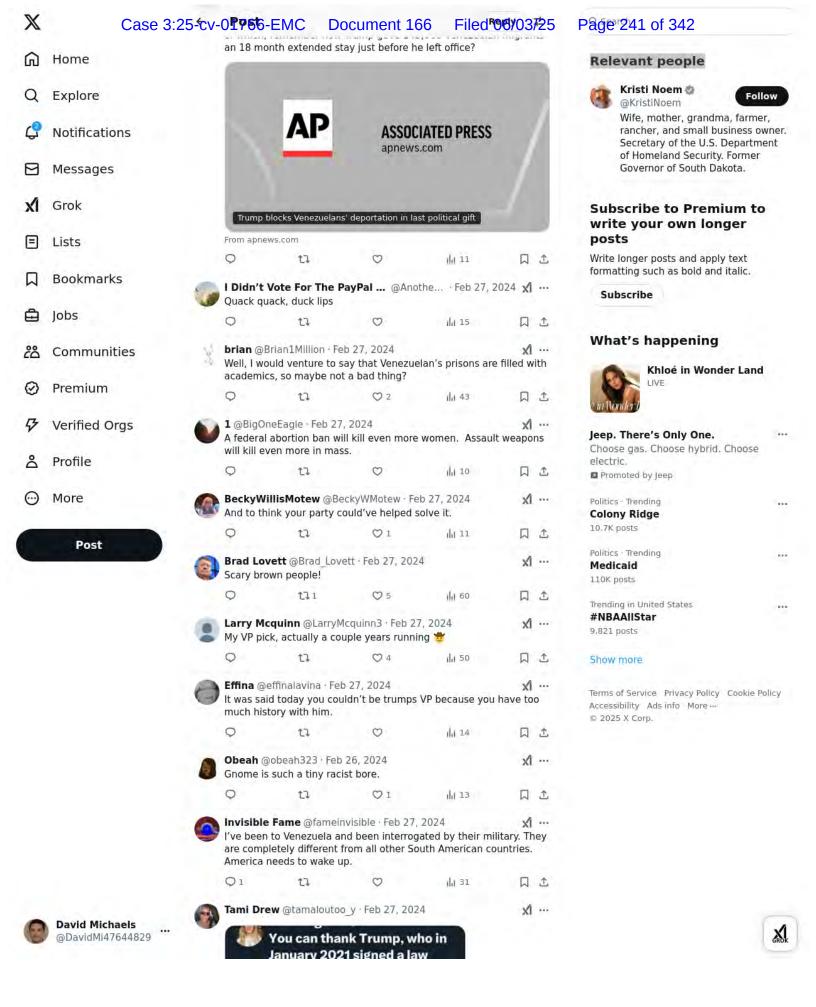
0

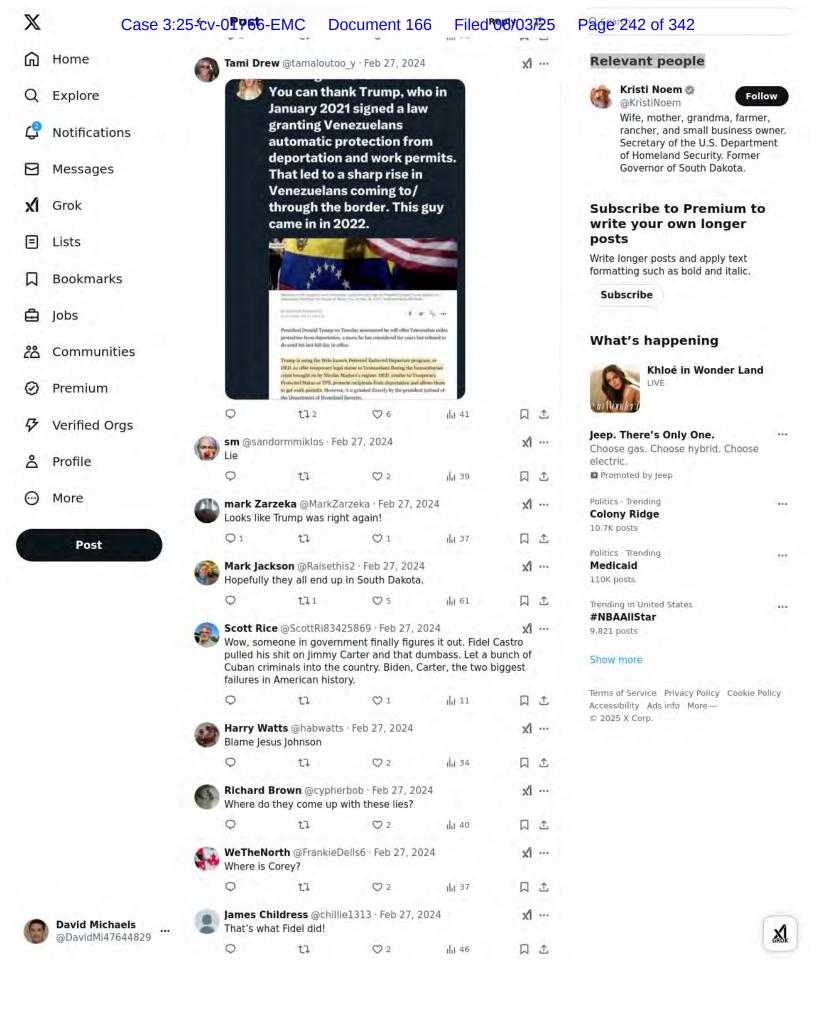
Kyle Michel Sullivan: Pure liber... @kms... - Feb 26, 2024 x ...

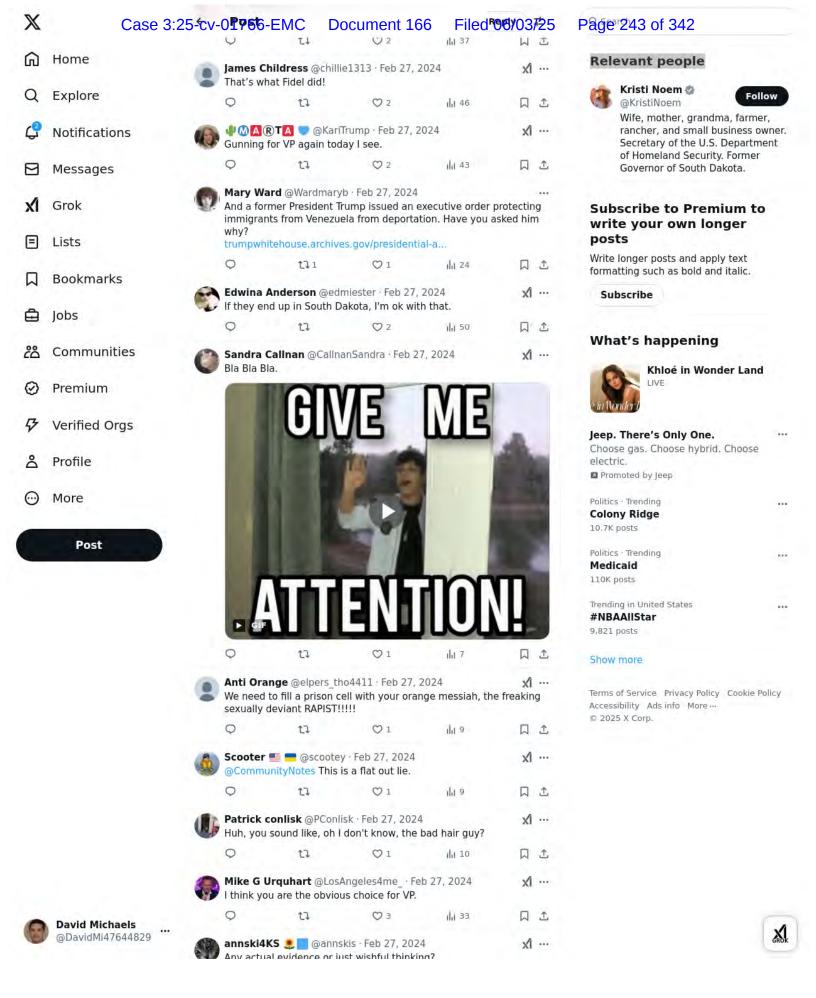
David Michaels @DavidMi47644829

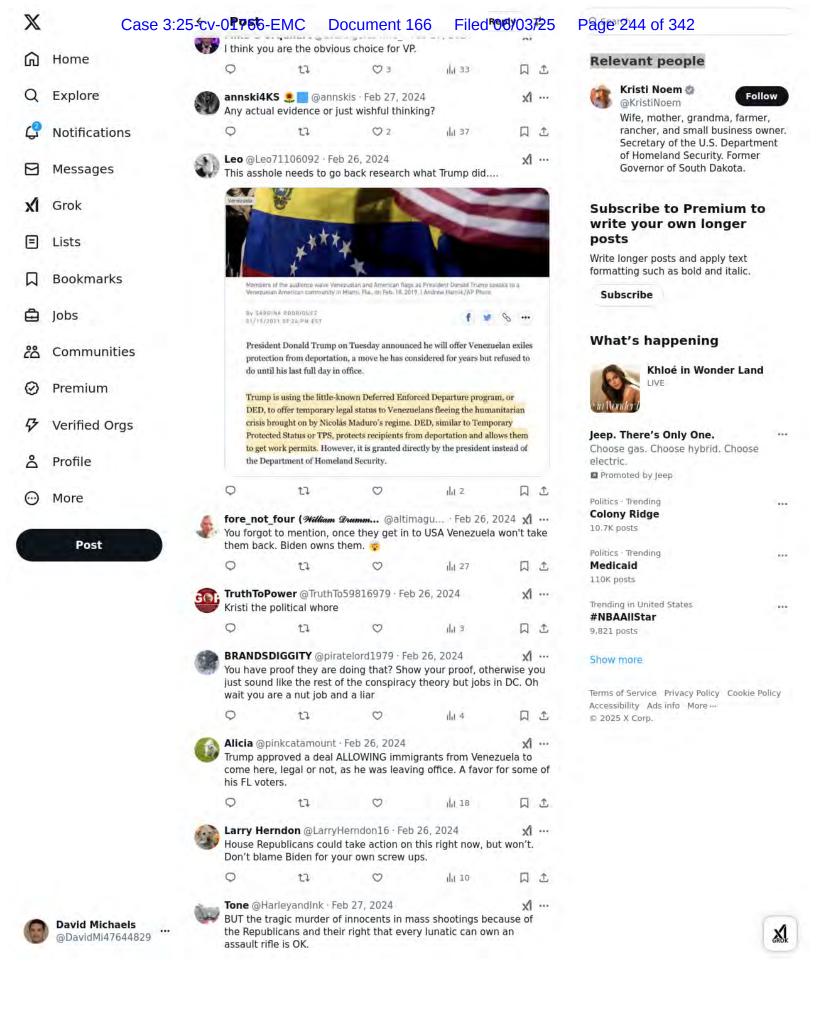


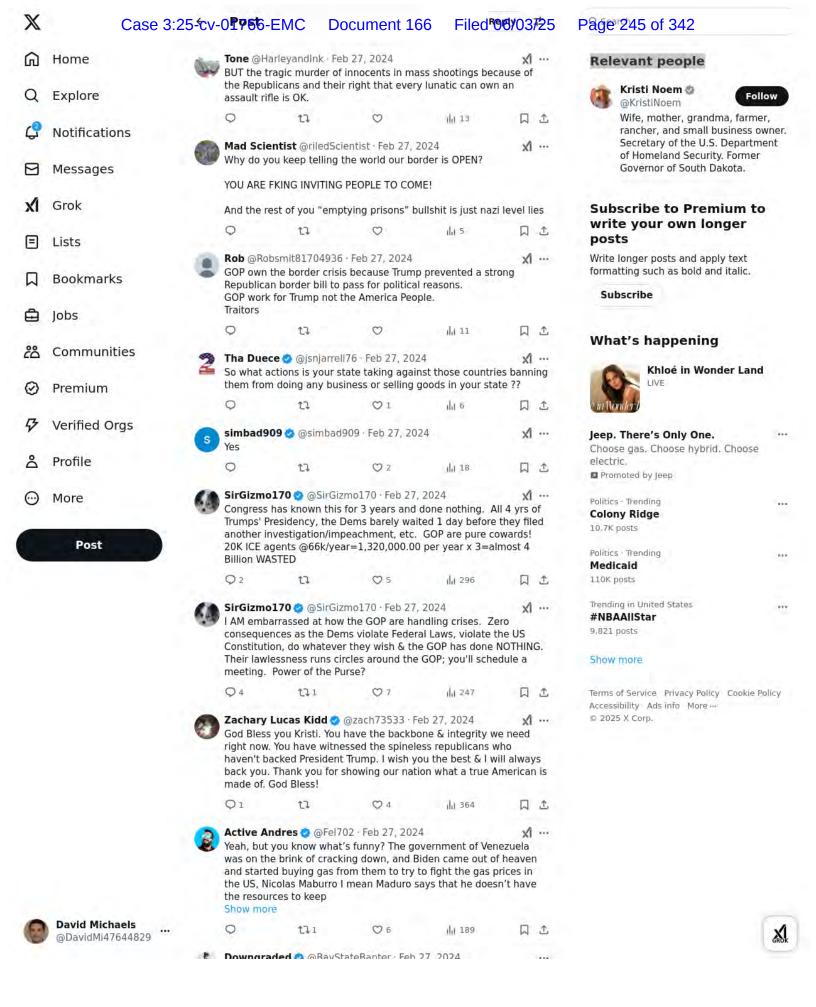


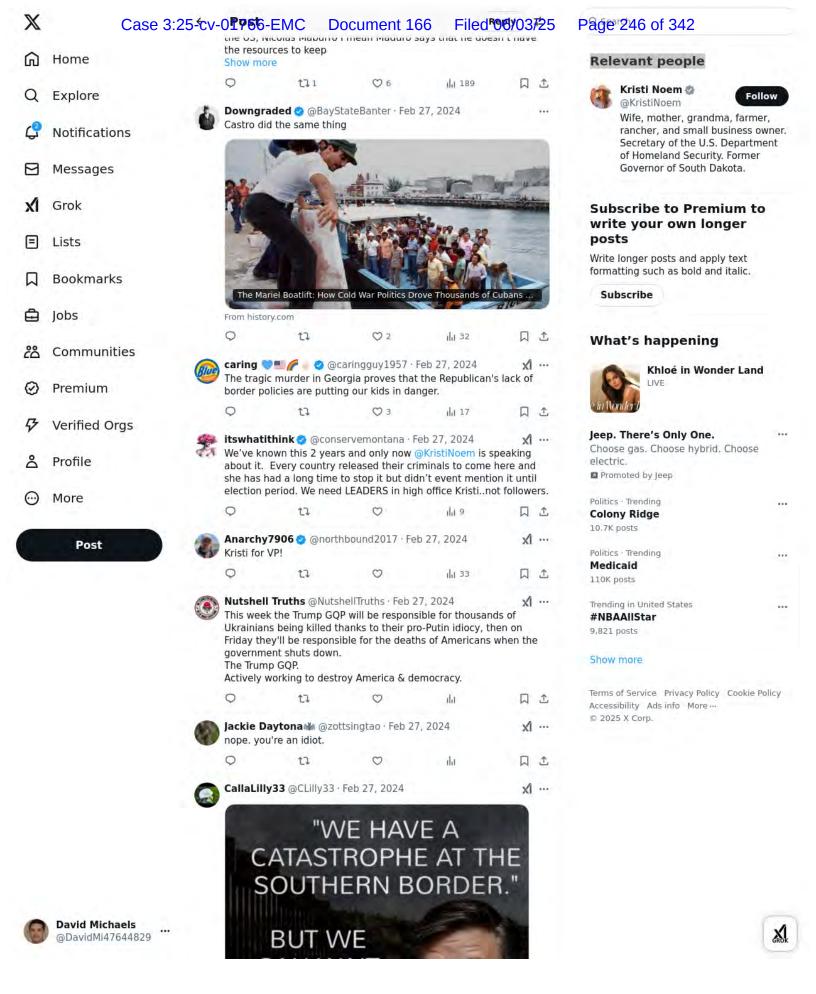


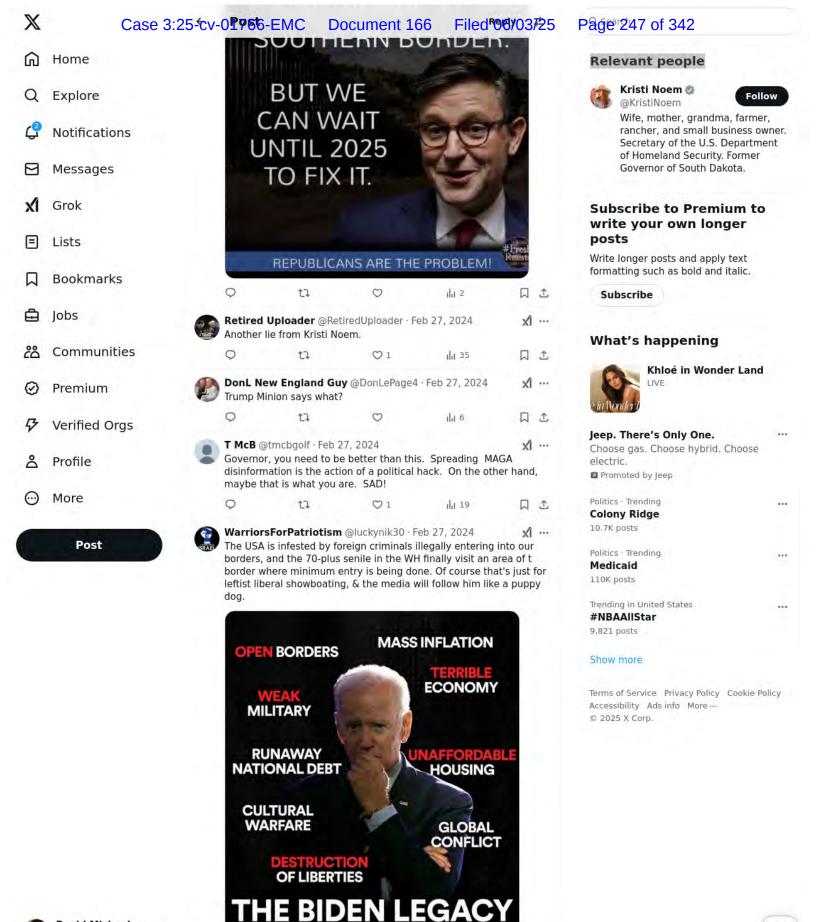














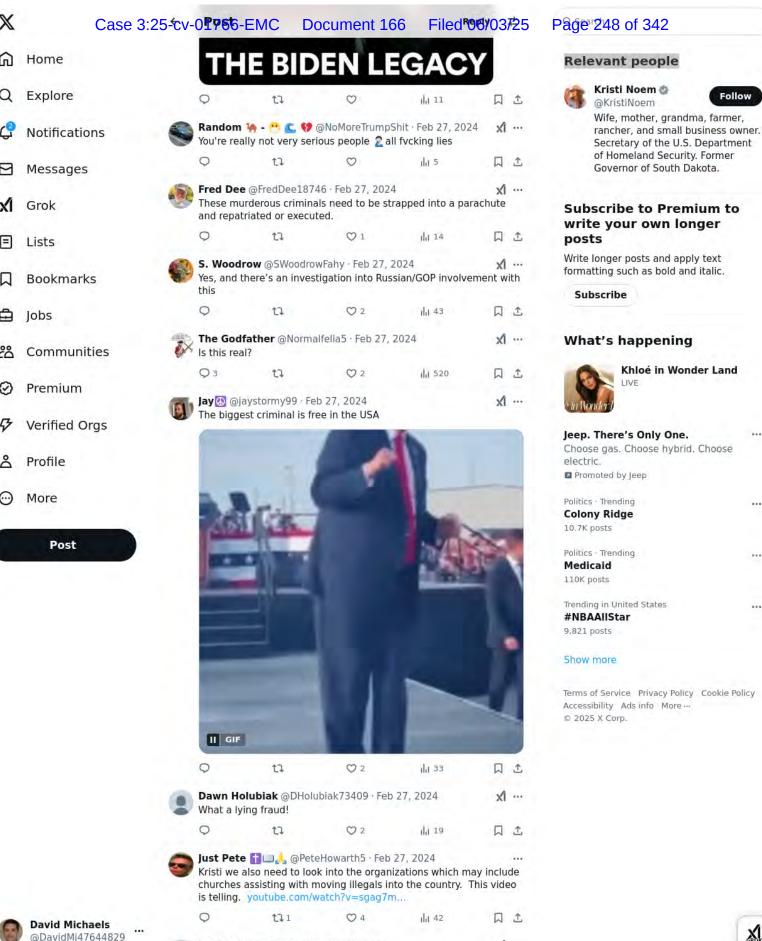
口土

11 11

0

t]

David Michaels
@DavidMi47644829

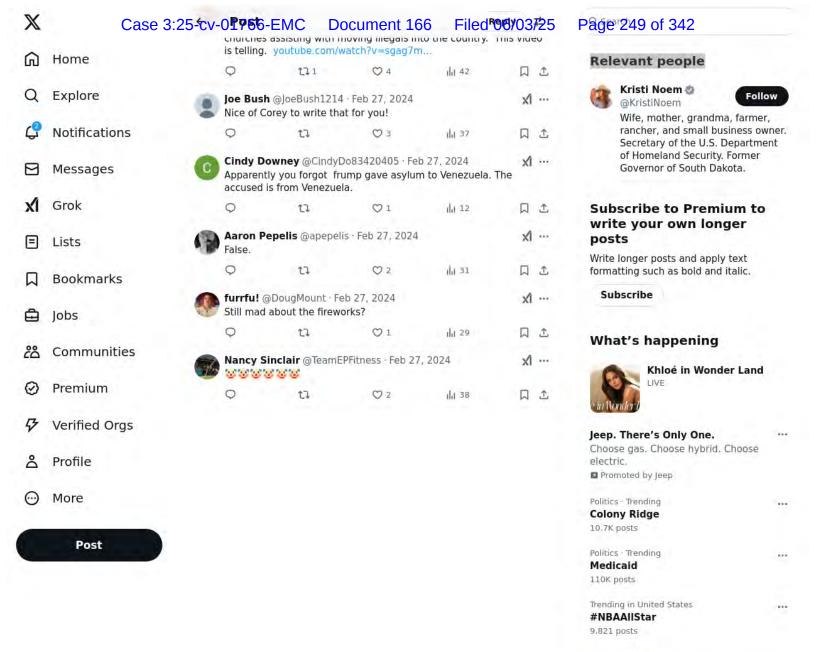




x1 ...

Joe Bush @JoeBush1214 · Feb 27, 2024

Nice of Caray to write that for youl







Show more

© 2025 X Corp.

Terms of Service Privacy Policy Cookie Policy

Accessibility Ads info More ...

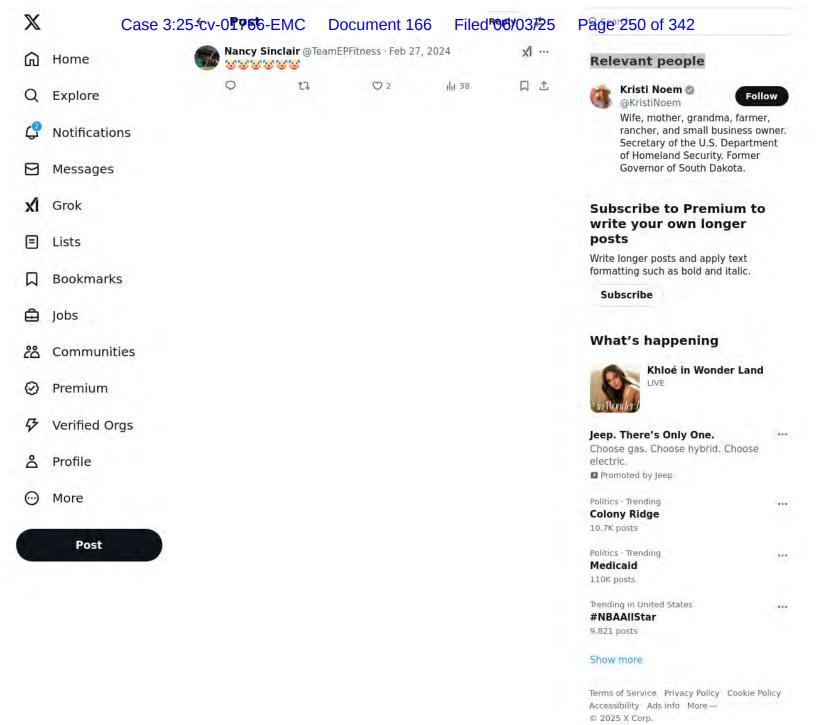
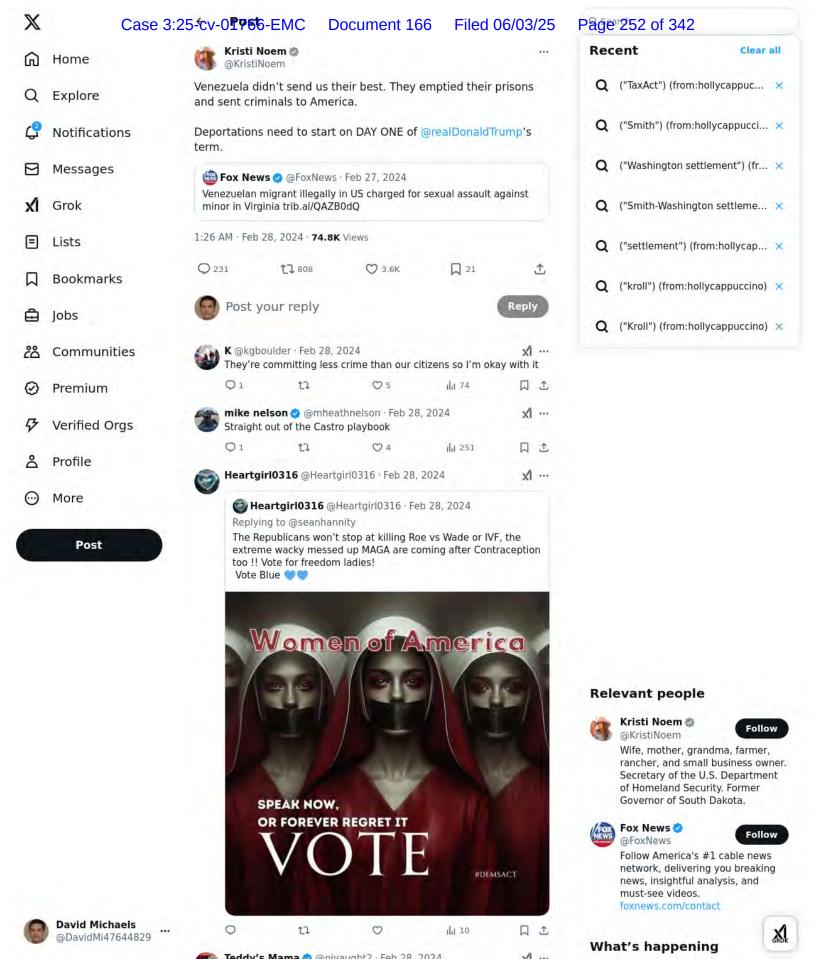


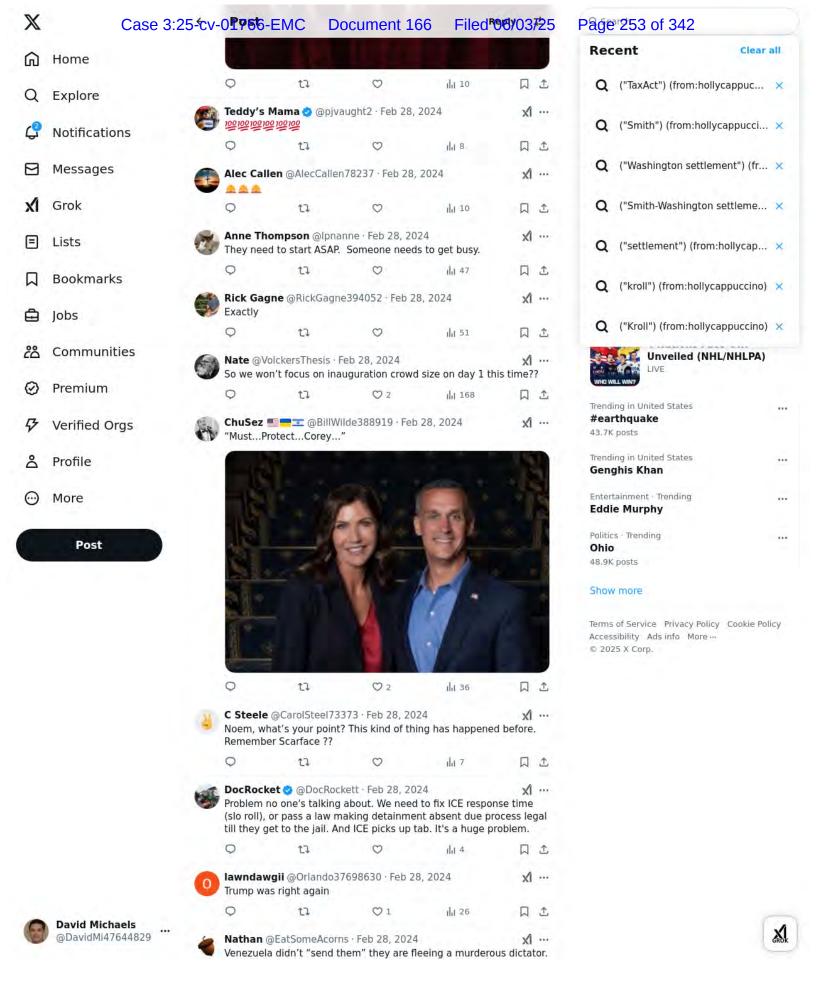


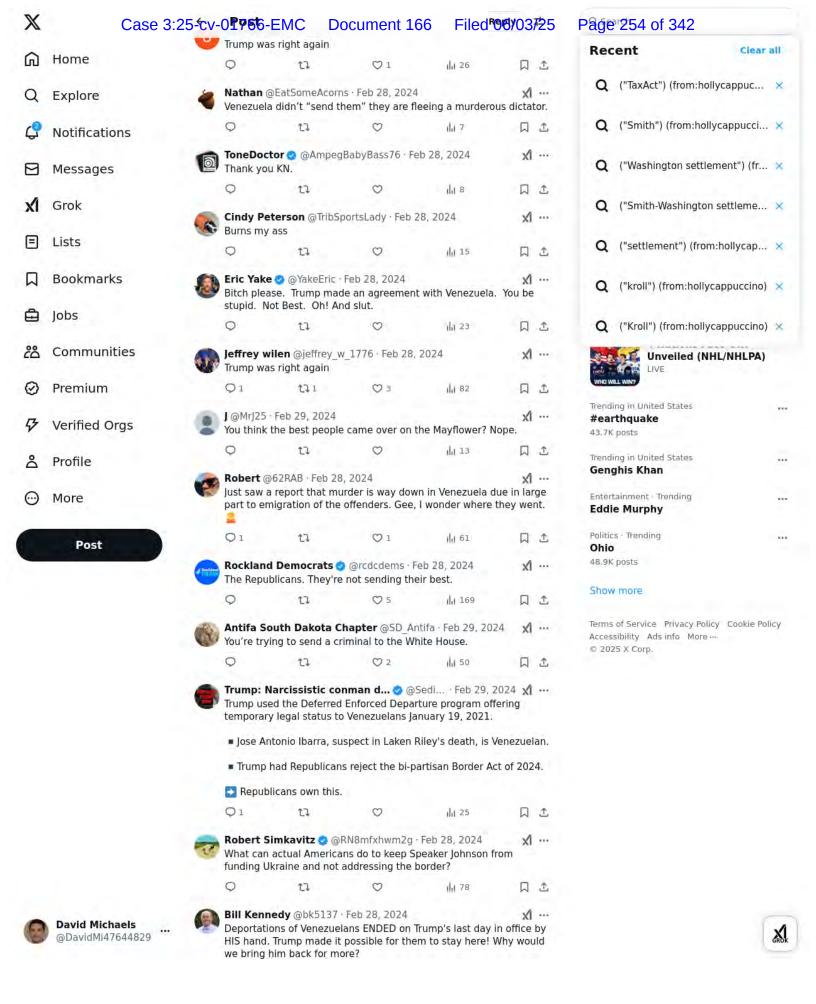


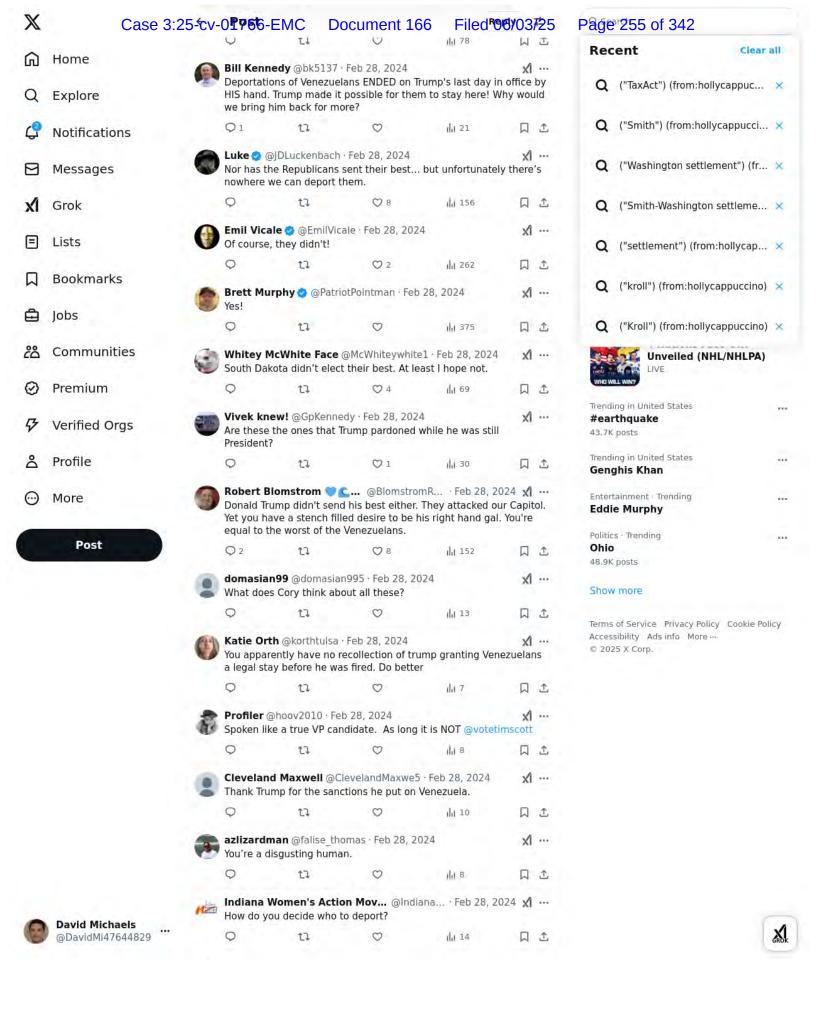
Exhibit 25

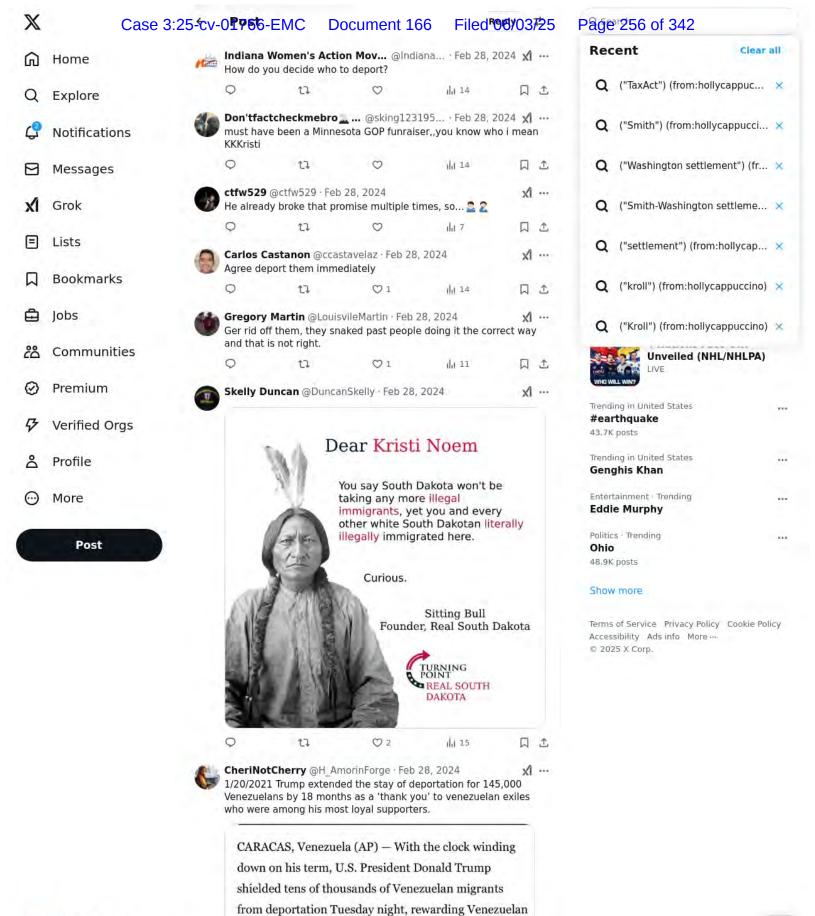


Page 1 of 33







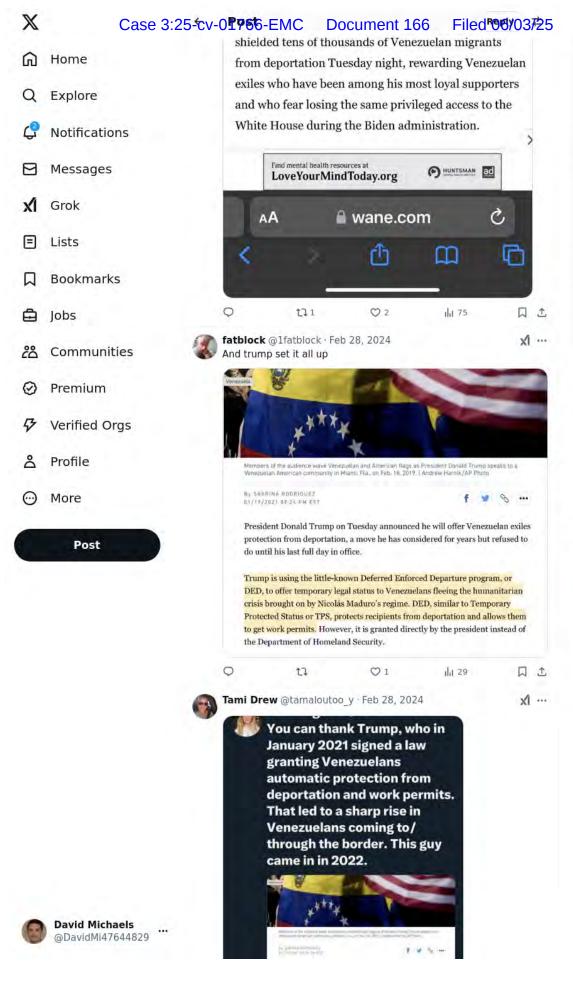


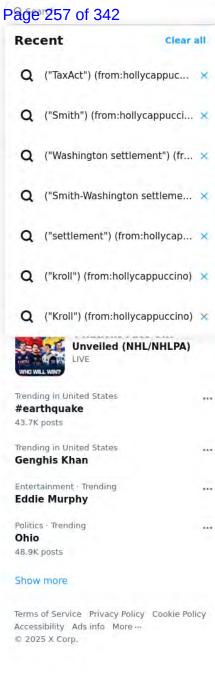




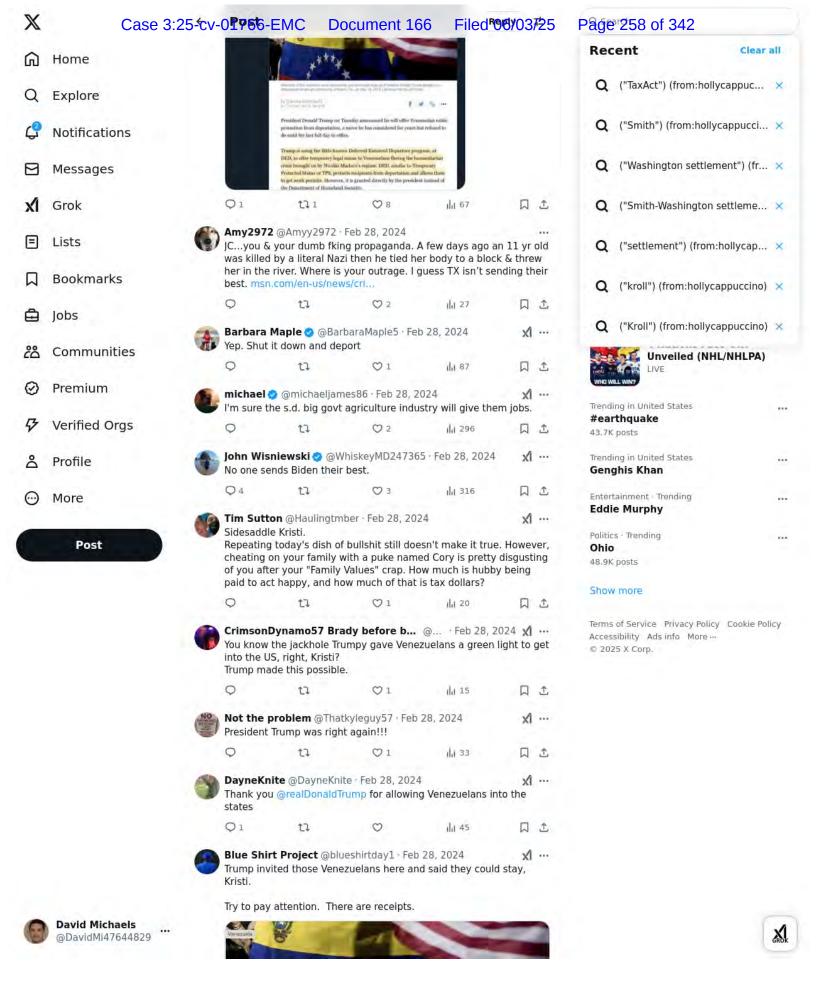
exiles who have been among his most loyal supporters

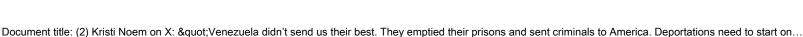
and who fear losing the same privileged access to the



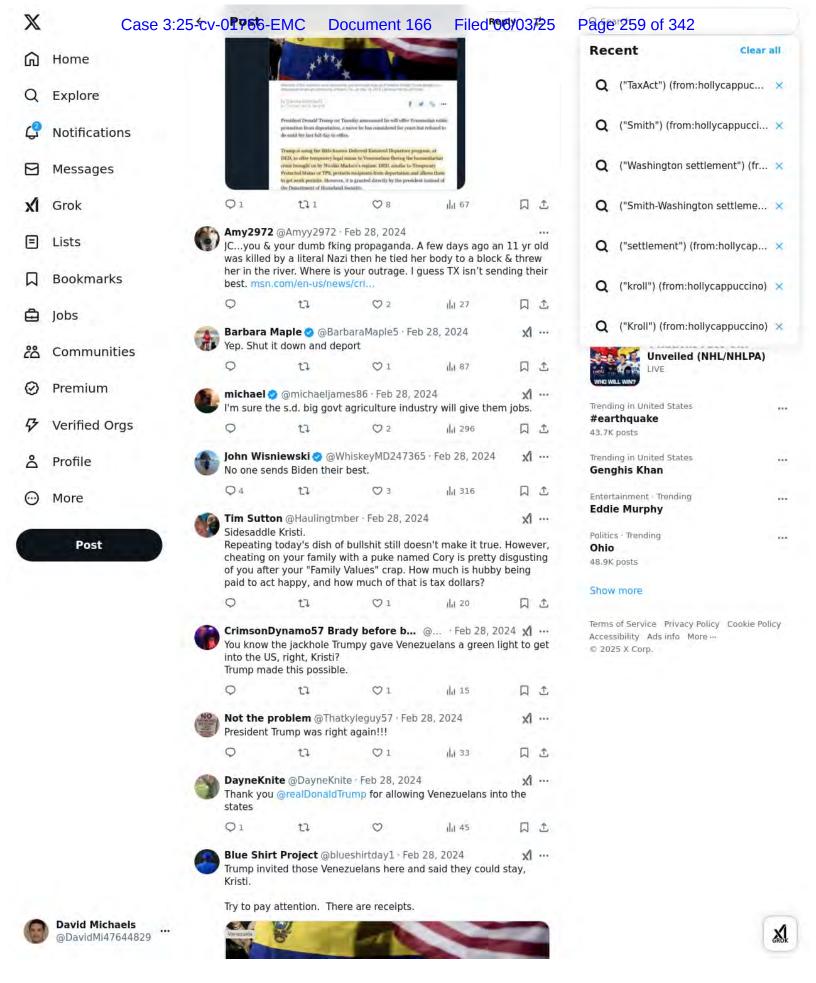


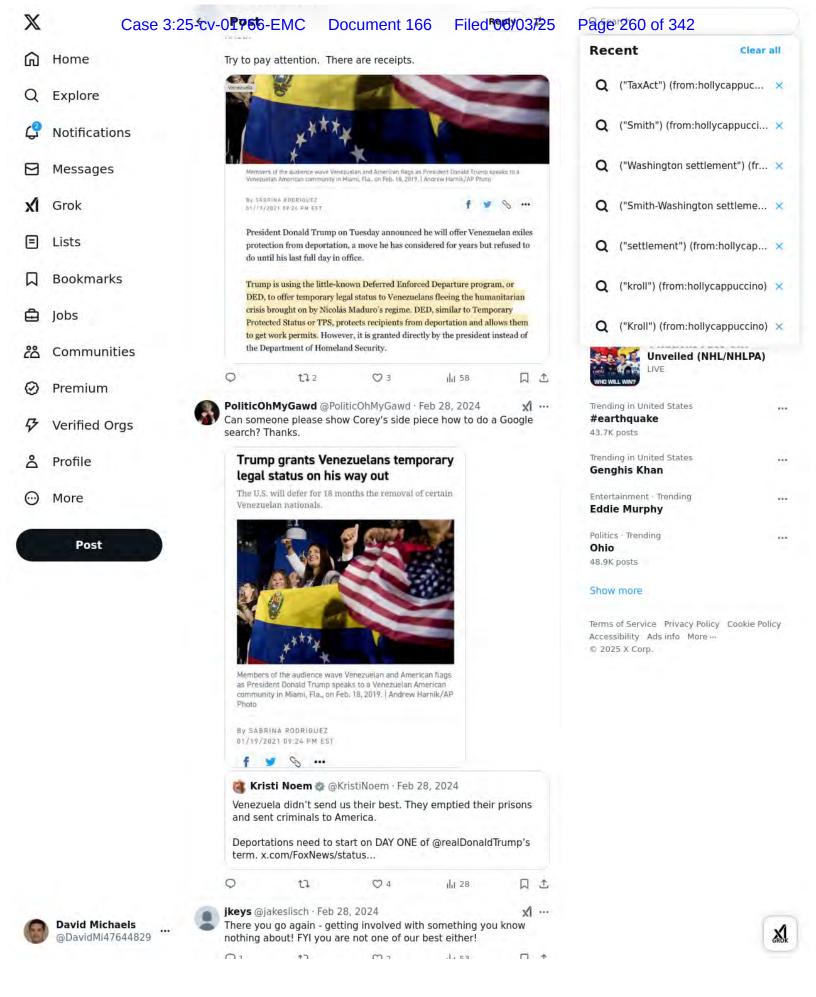


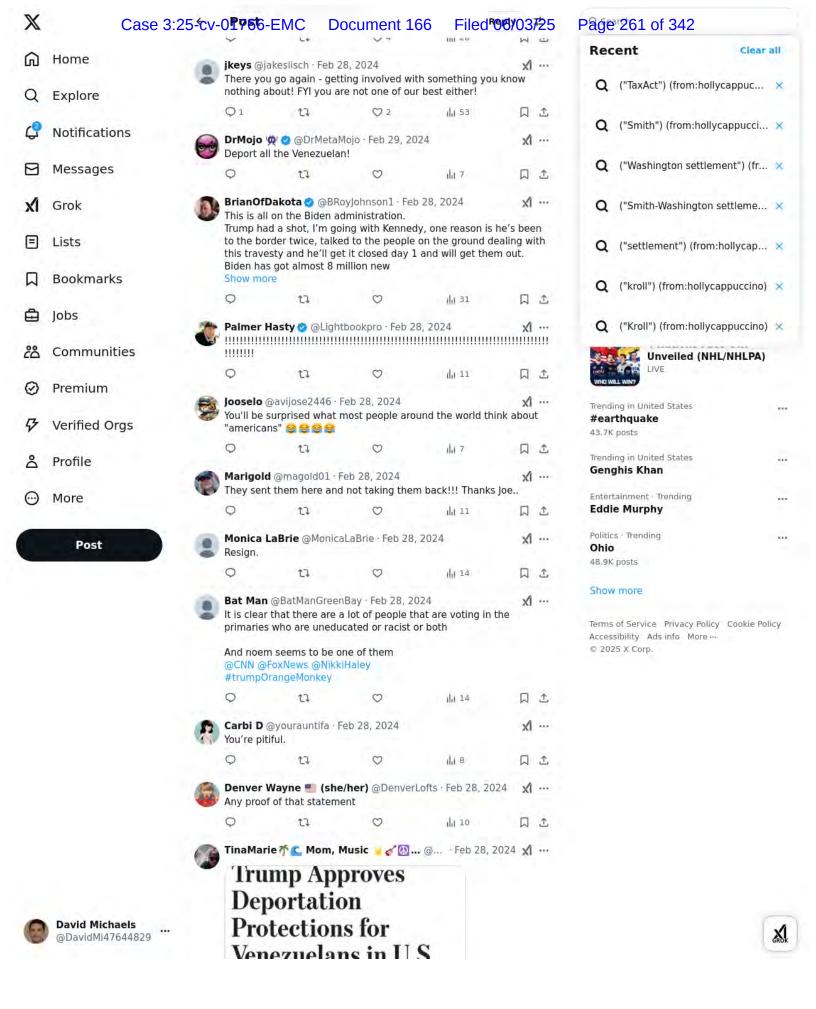


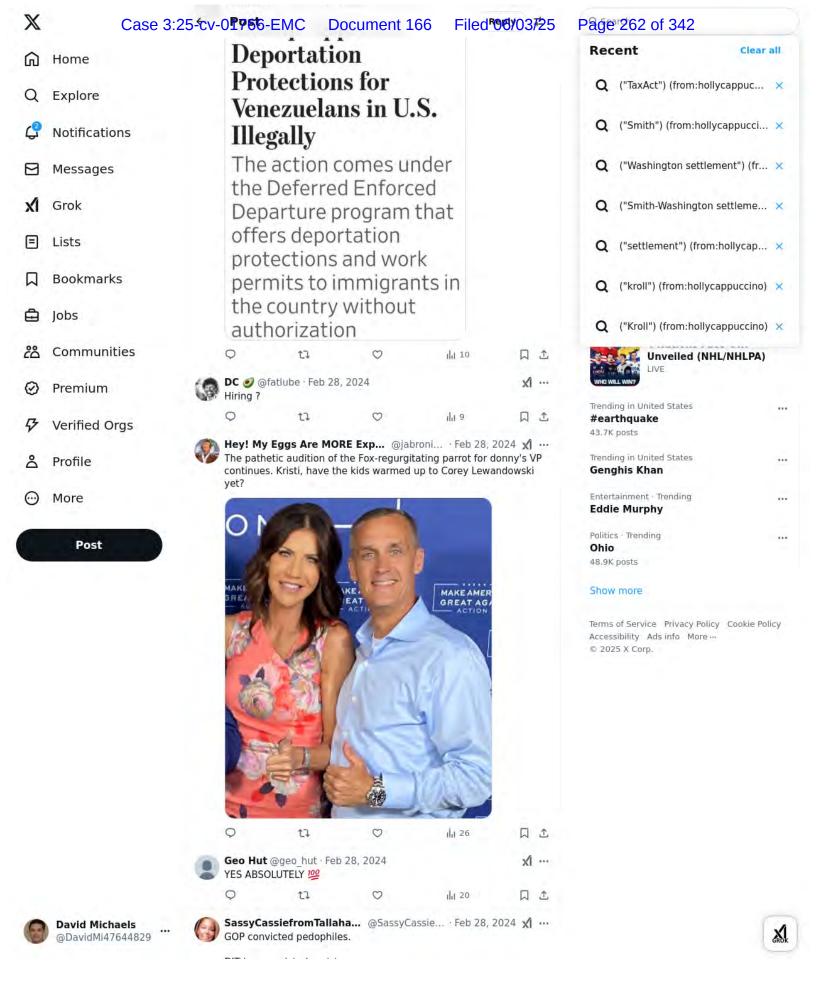


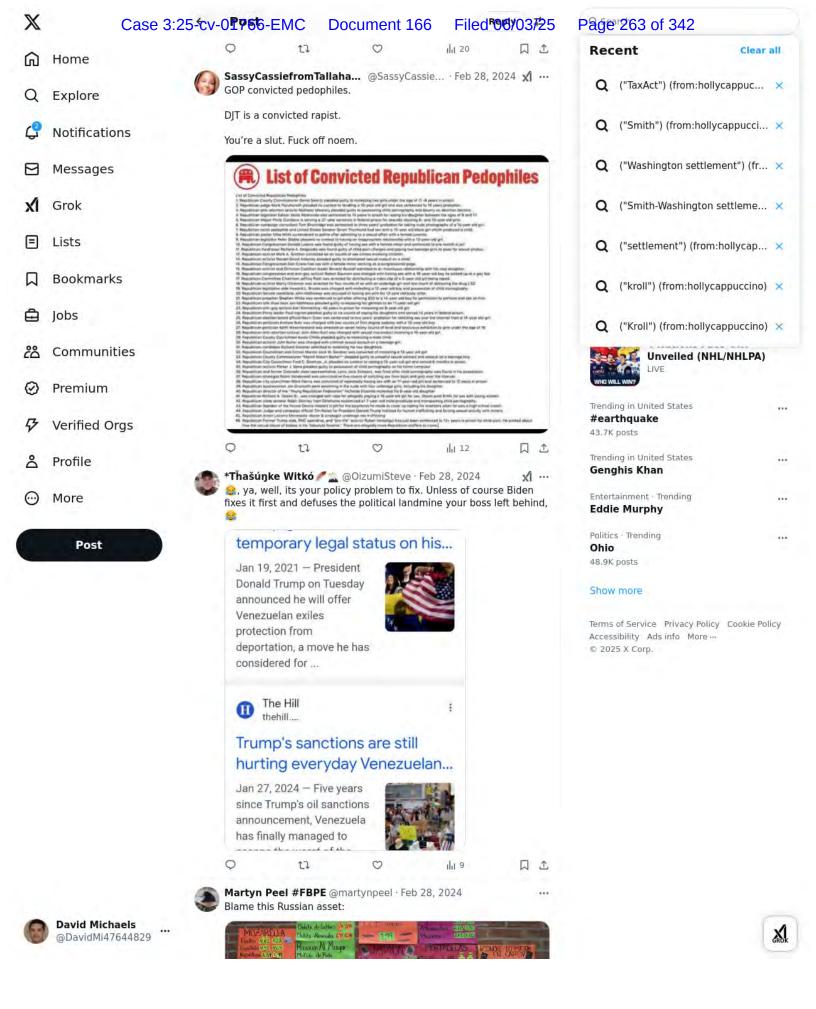
Capture URL: https://x.com/KristiNoem/status/1762650522920652828

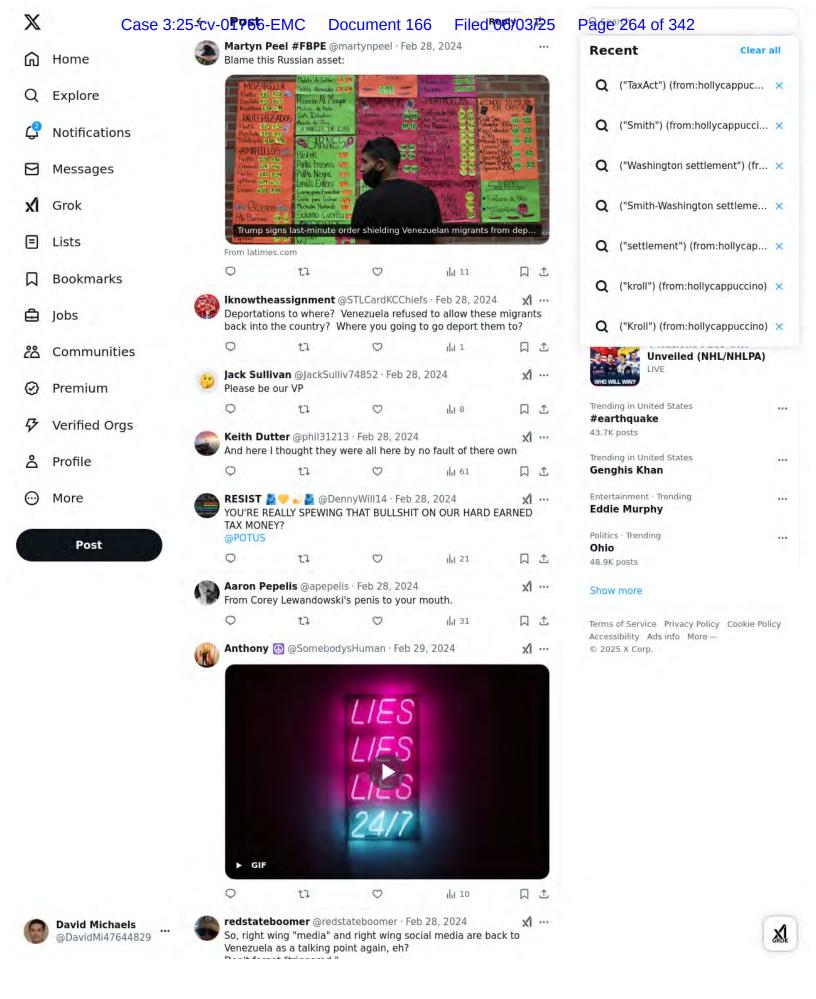


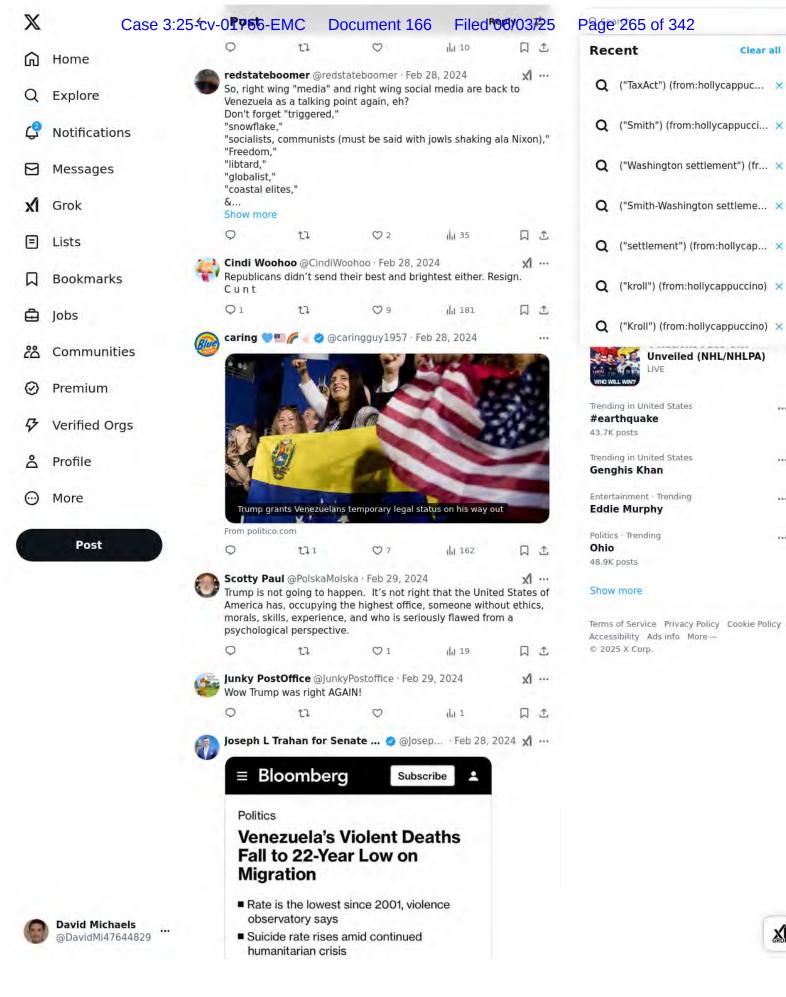




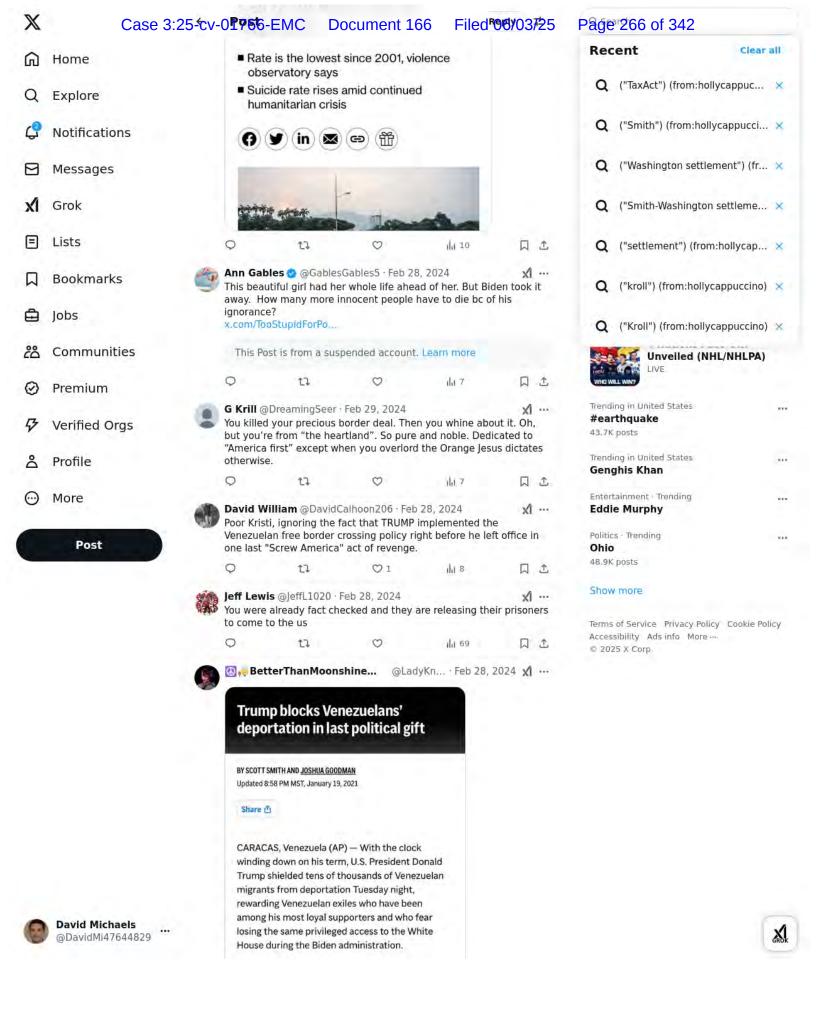


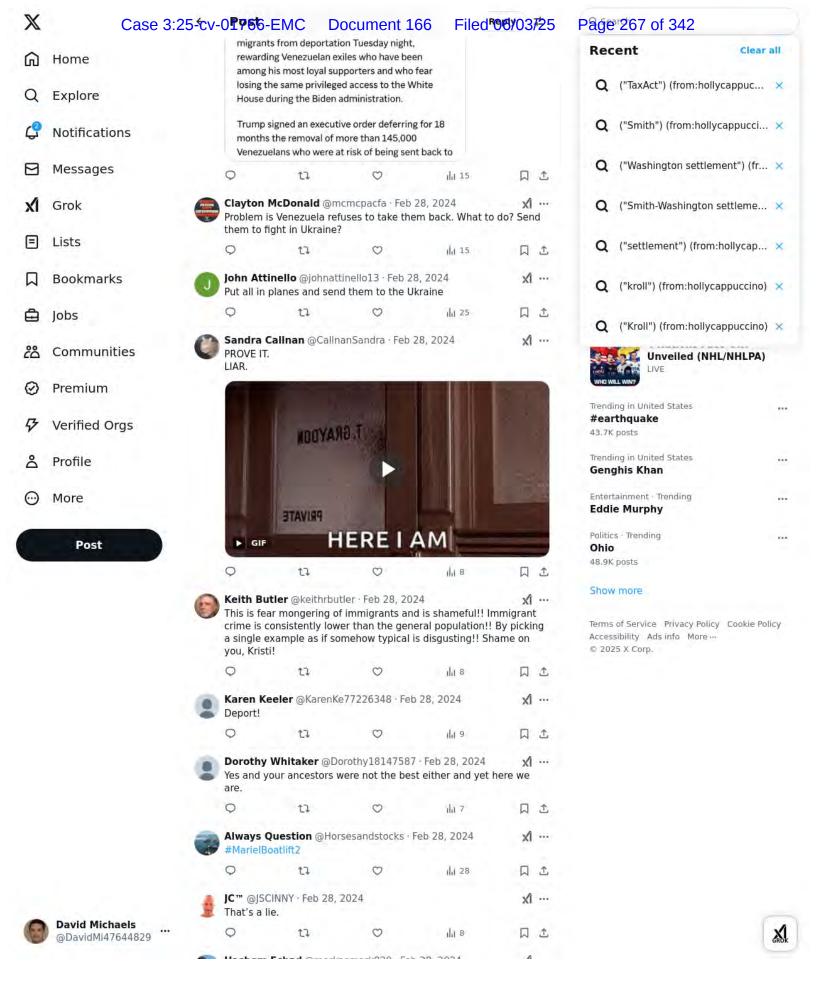


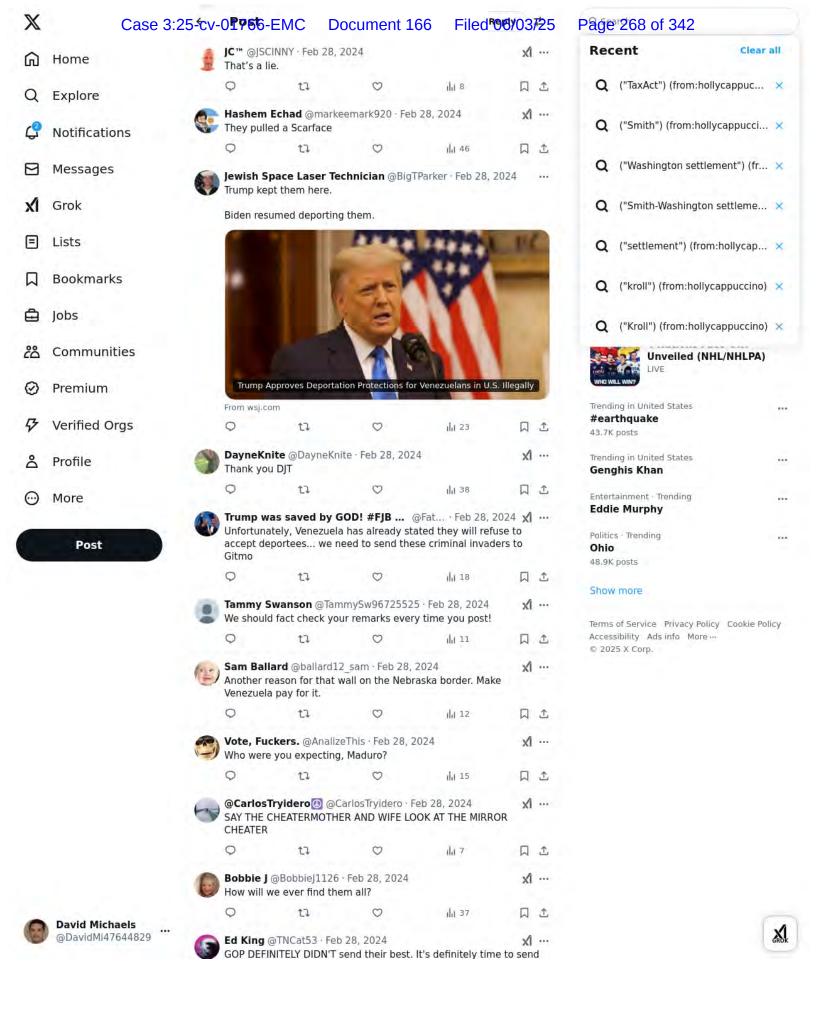


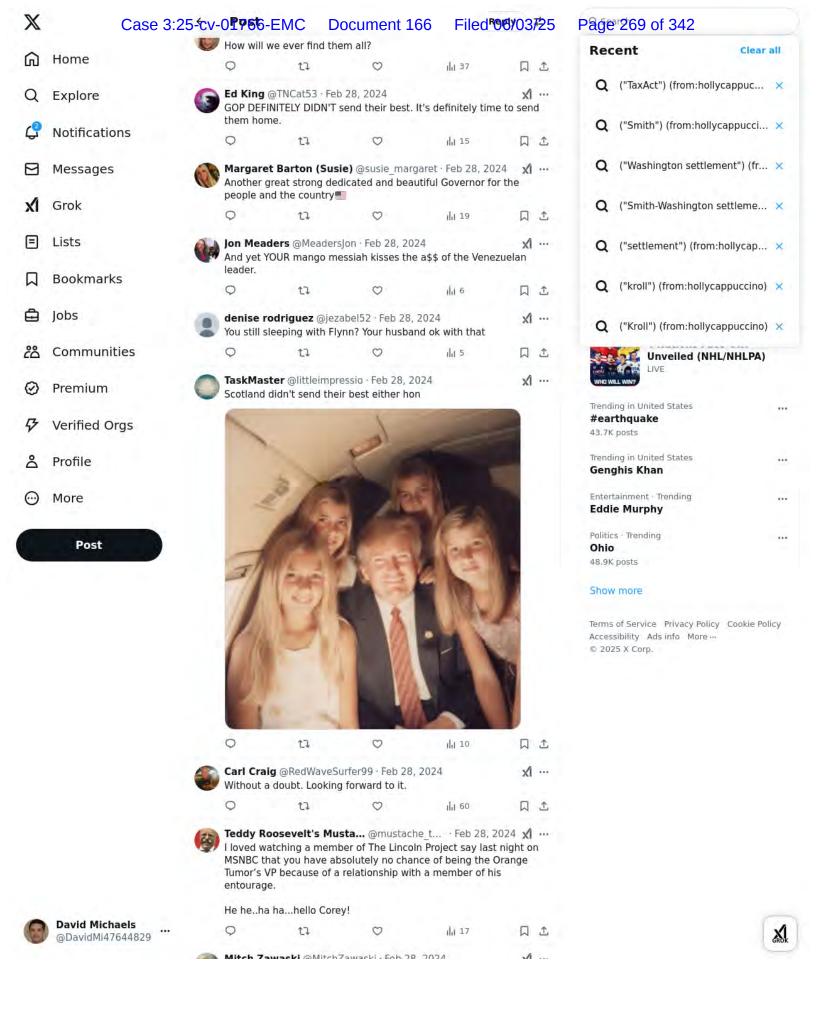


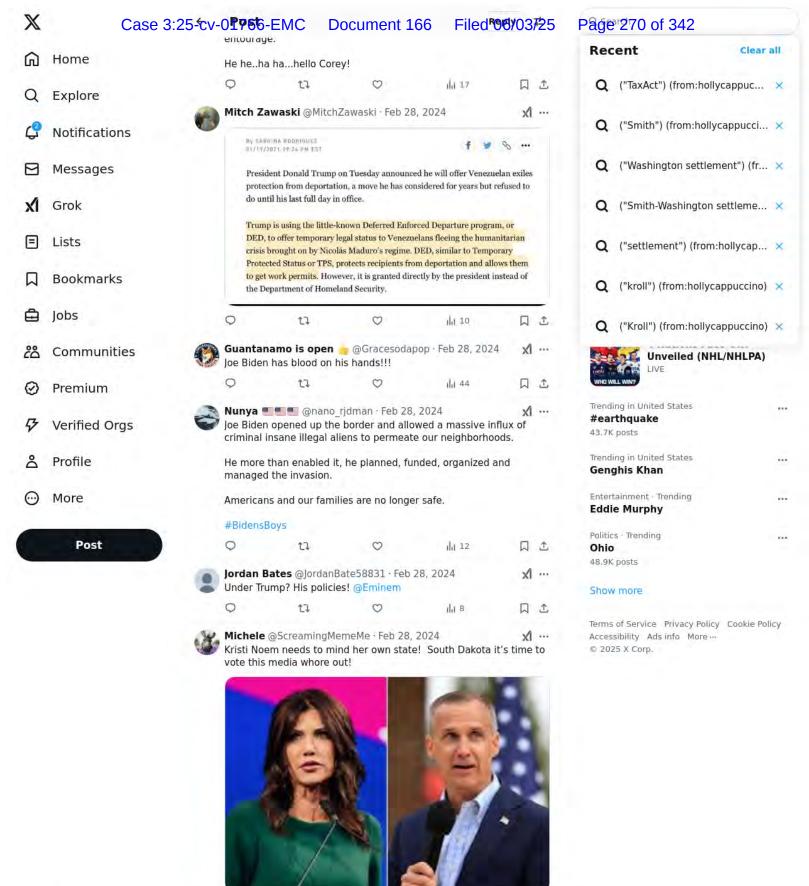














dd 7

口土

x1 ...

0

SD farms and ranches ARE FULL OF ILLEGAL WORKERS!!!!

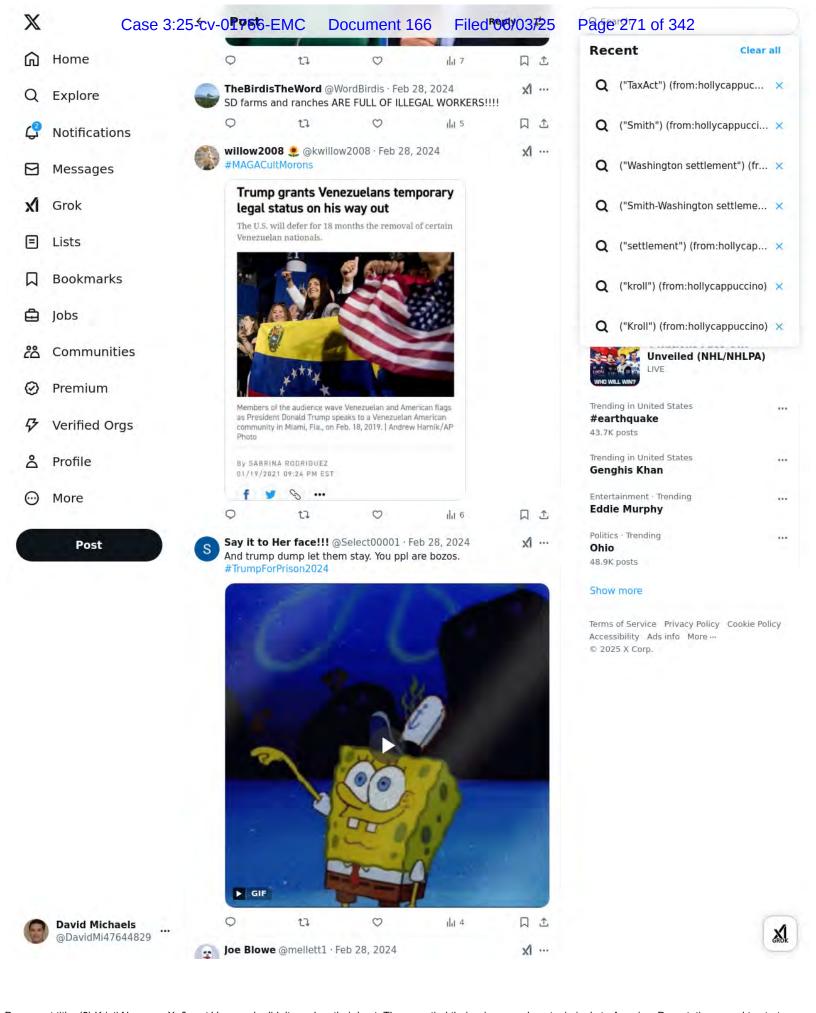
David Michaels

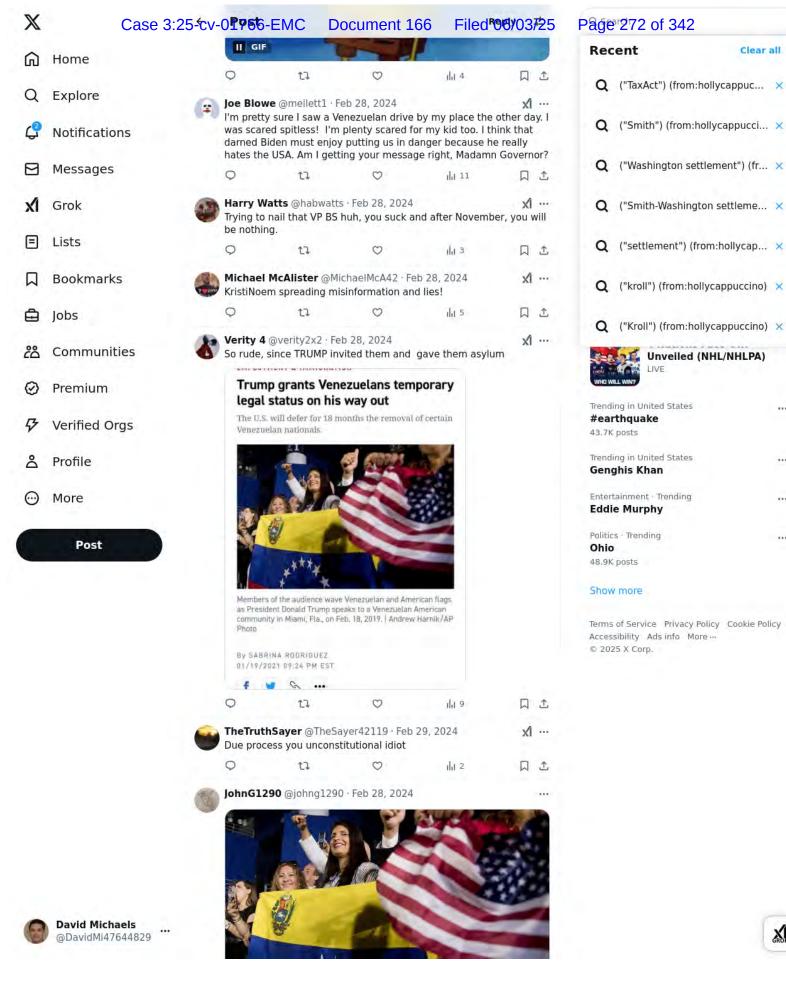
@DavidMi47644829

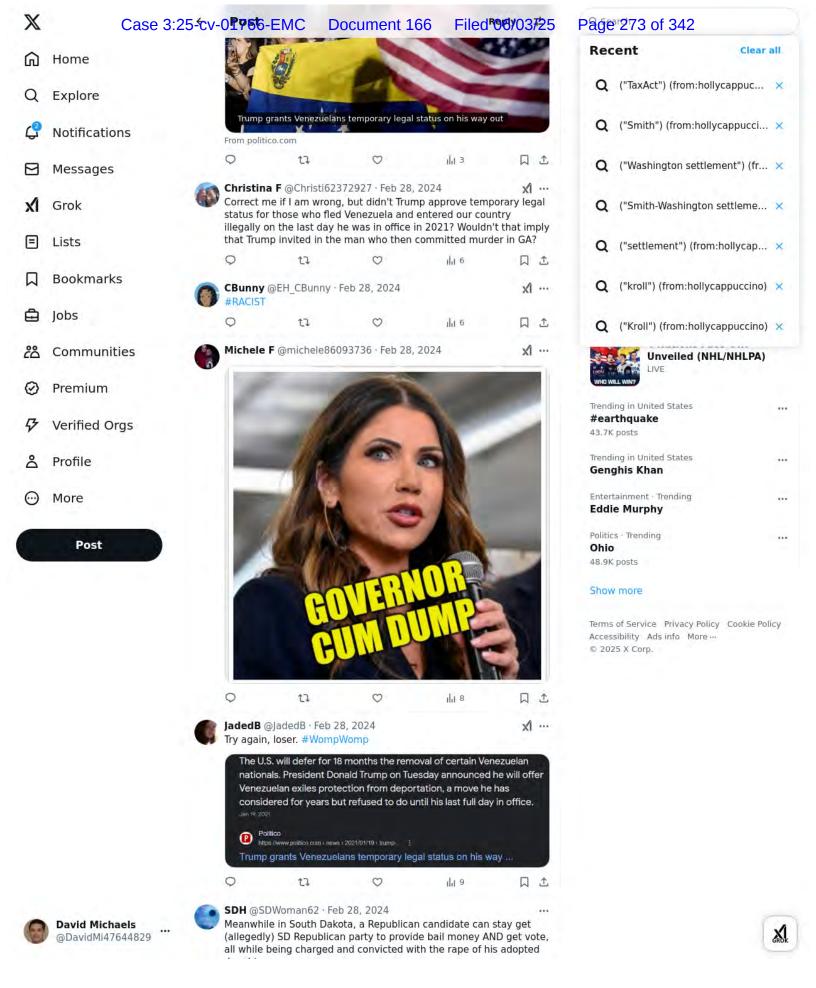
0

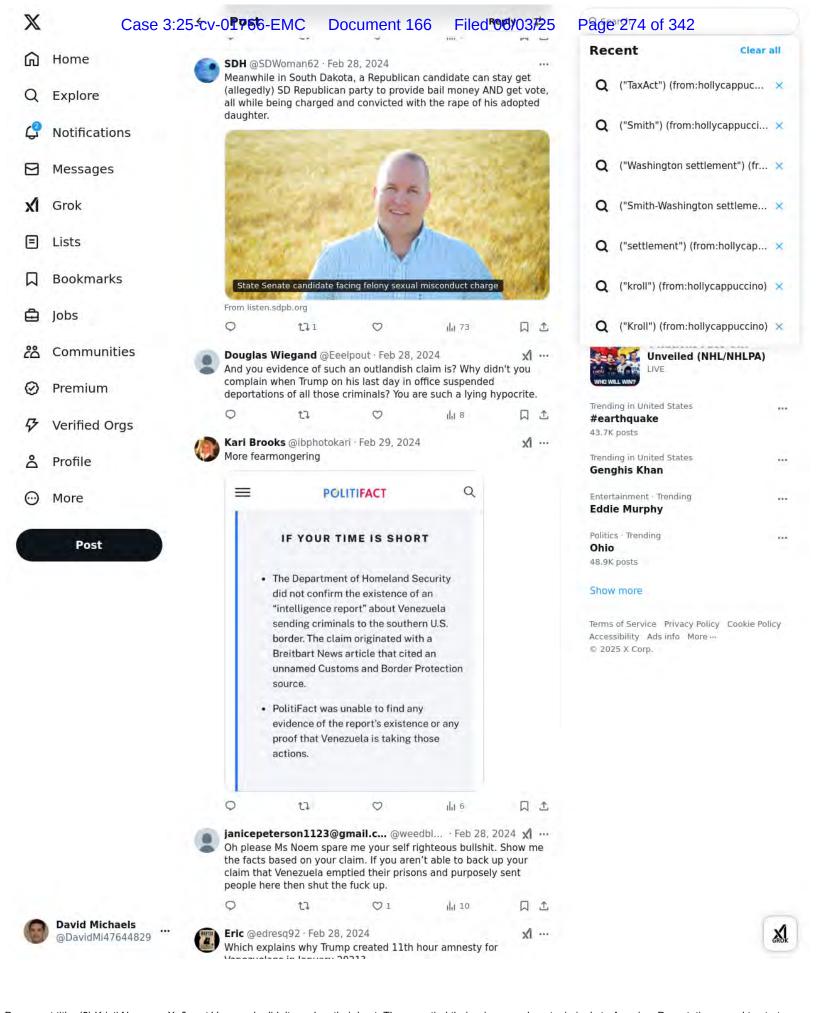
tl

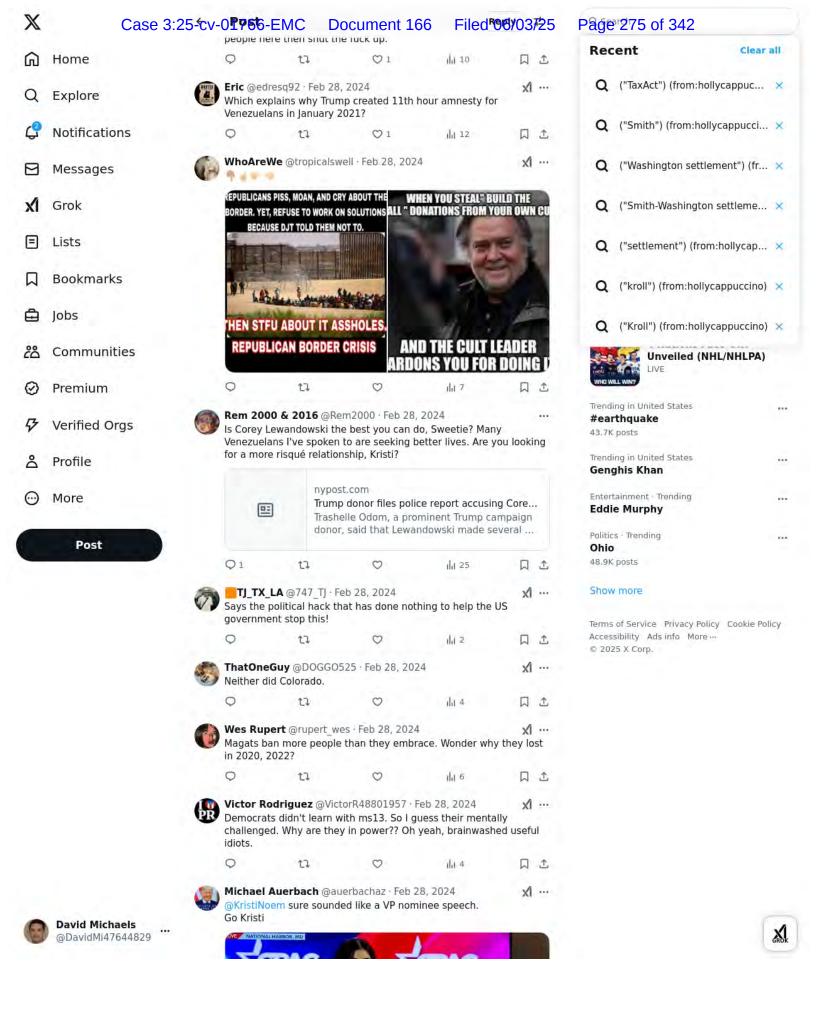
TheBirdisTheWord @WordBirdis · Feb 28, 2024

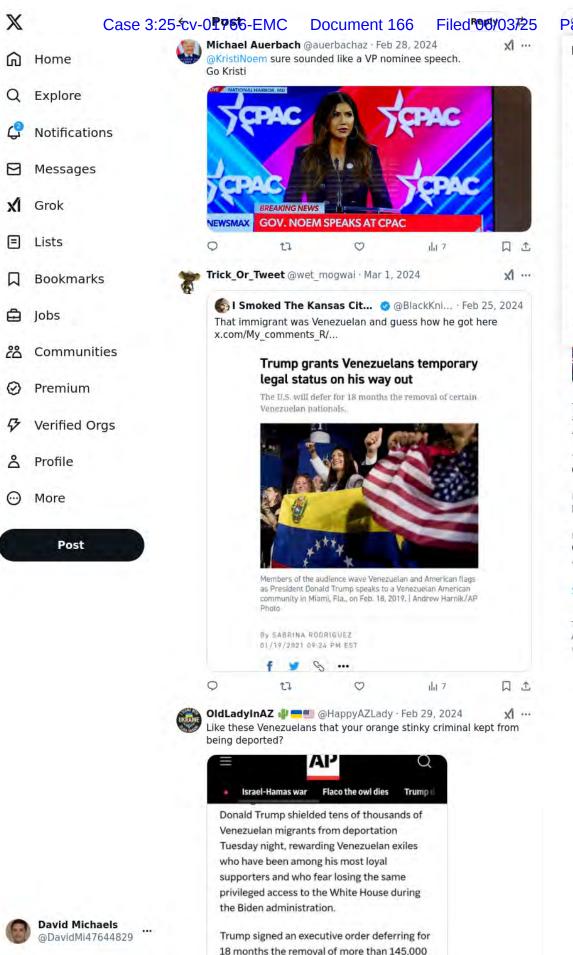


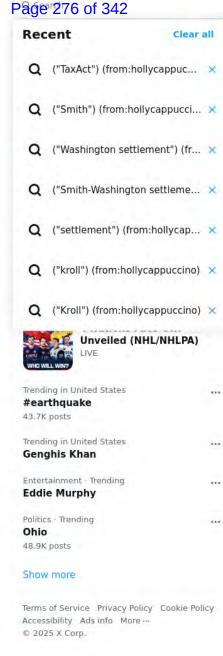




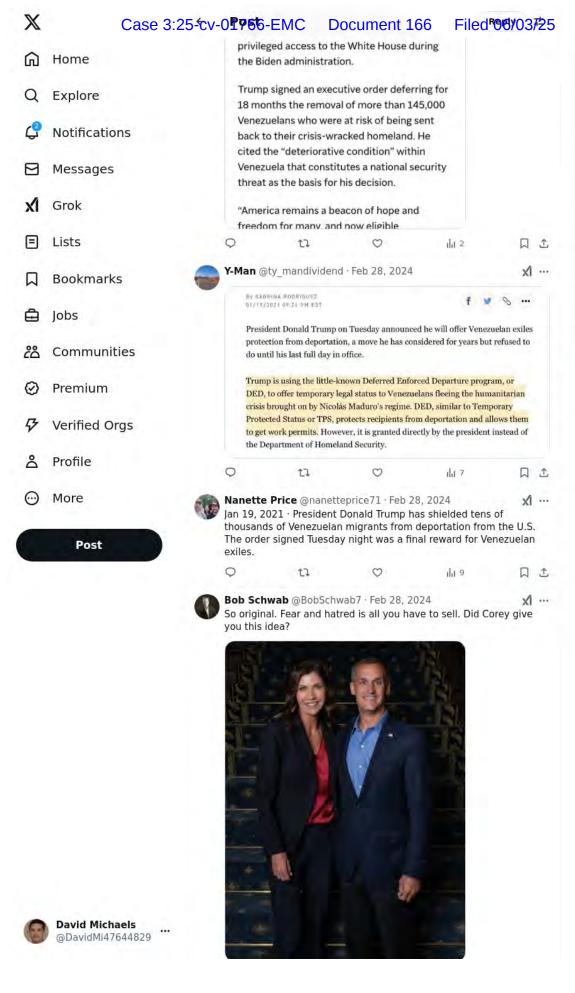


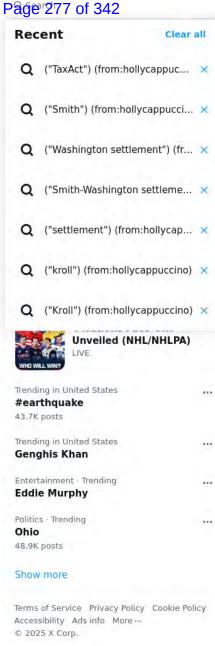




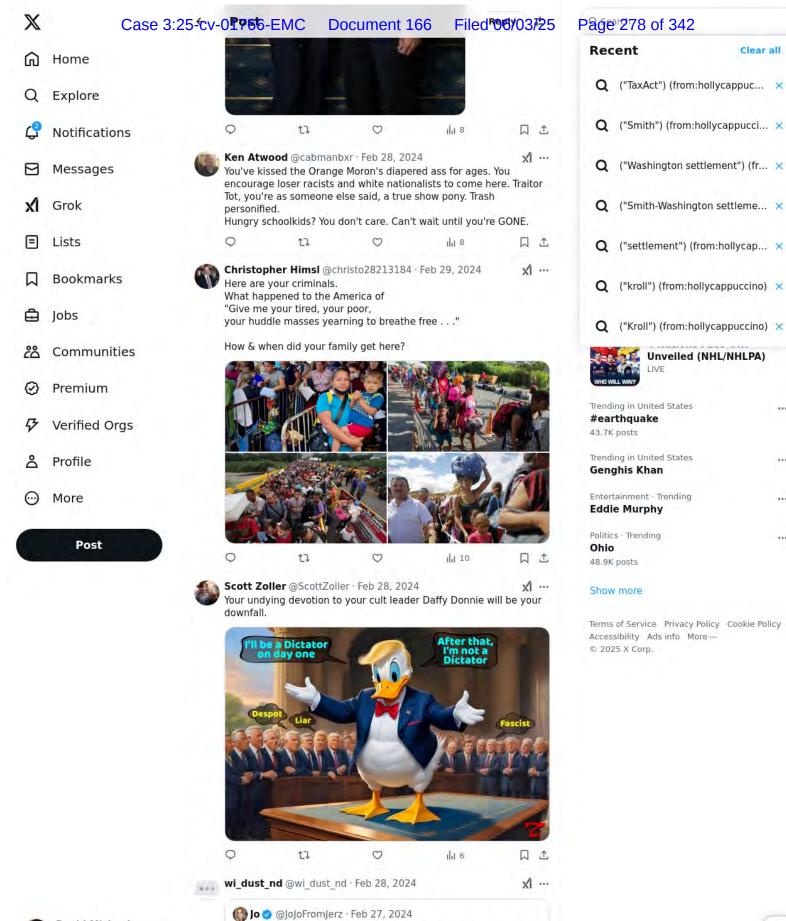












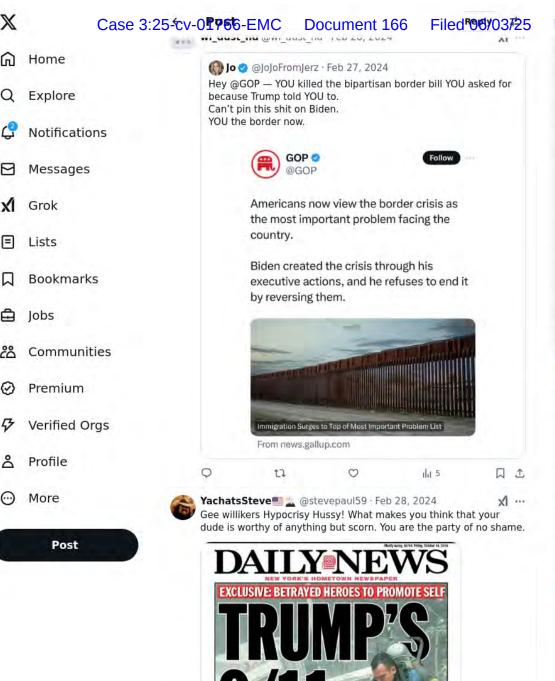


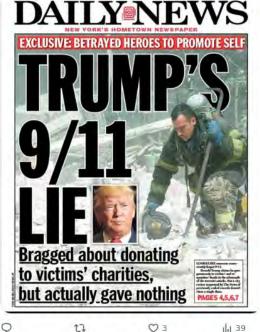
Hey @GOP — YOU killed the bipartisan border bill YOU asked for

because Trump told YOU to. Can't pin this shit on Biden.

David Michaels

@DavidMi47644829



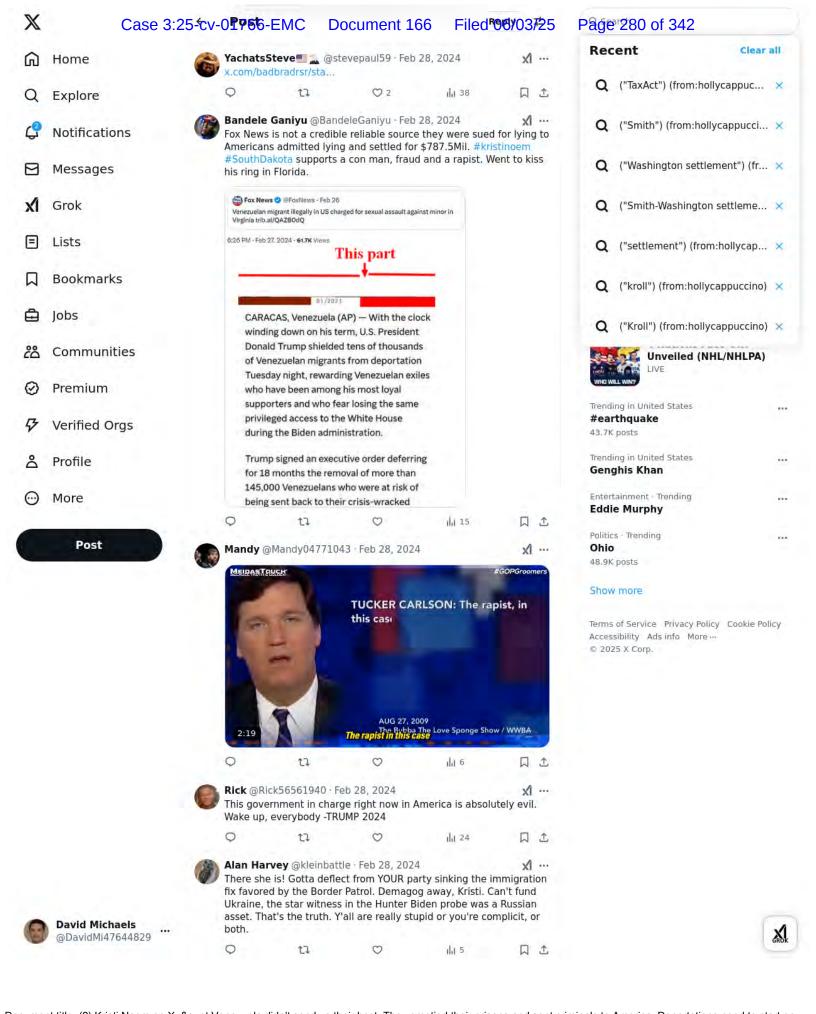


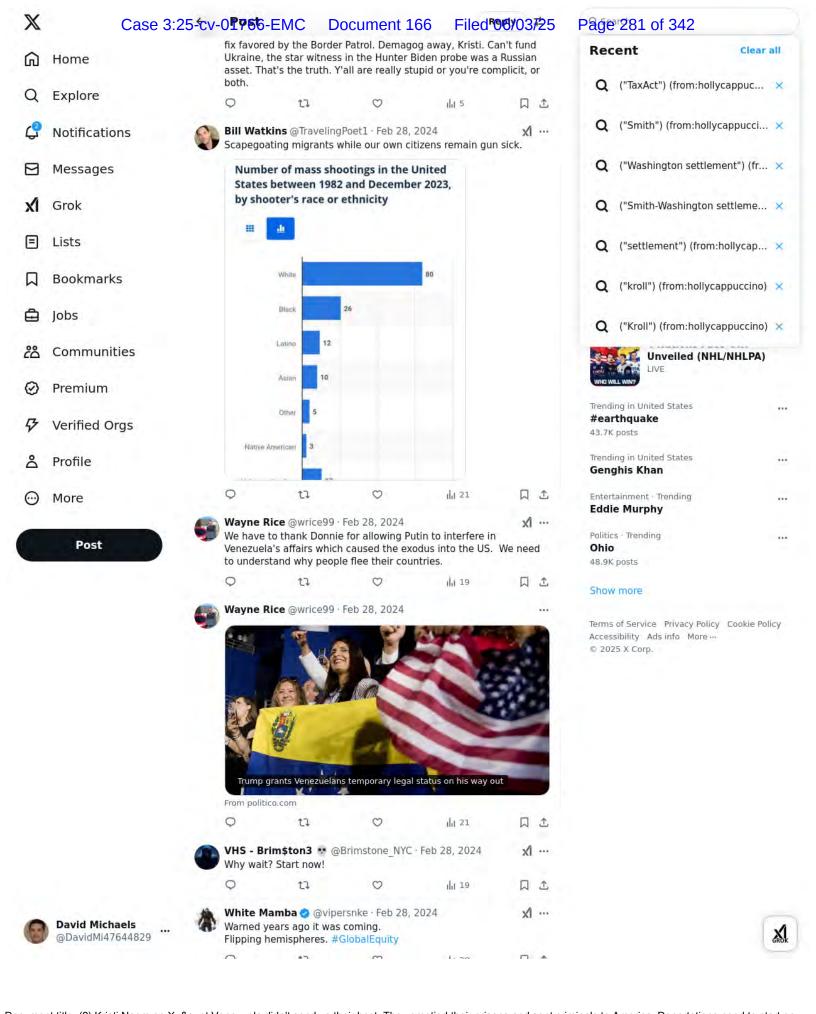


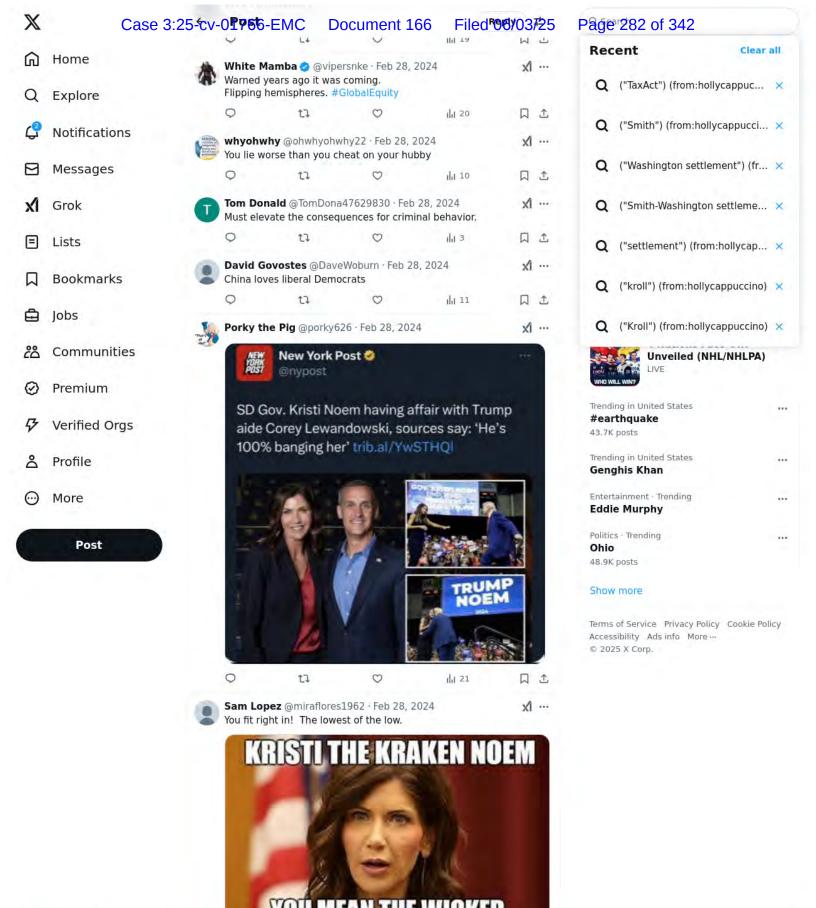






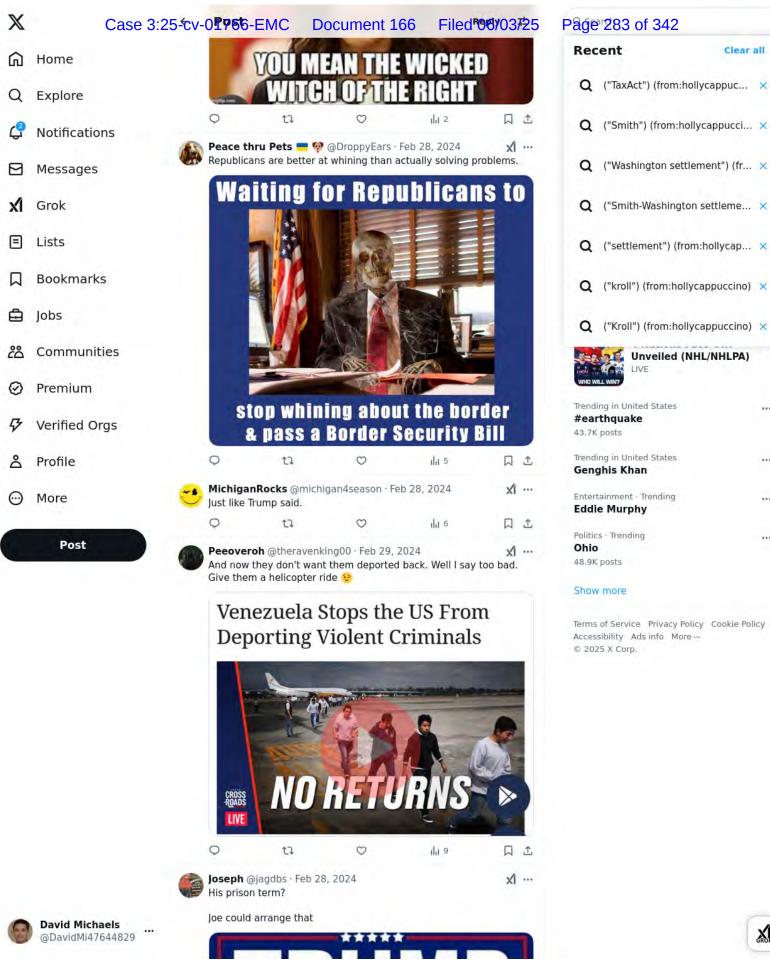








David Michaels
@DavidMi47644829



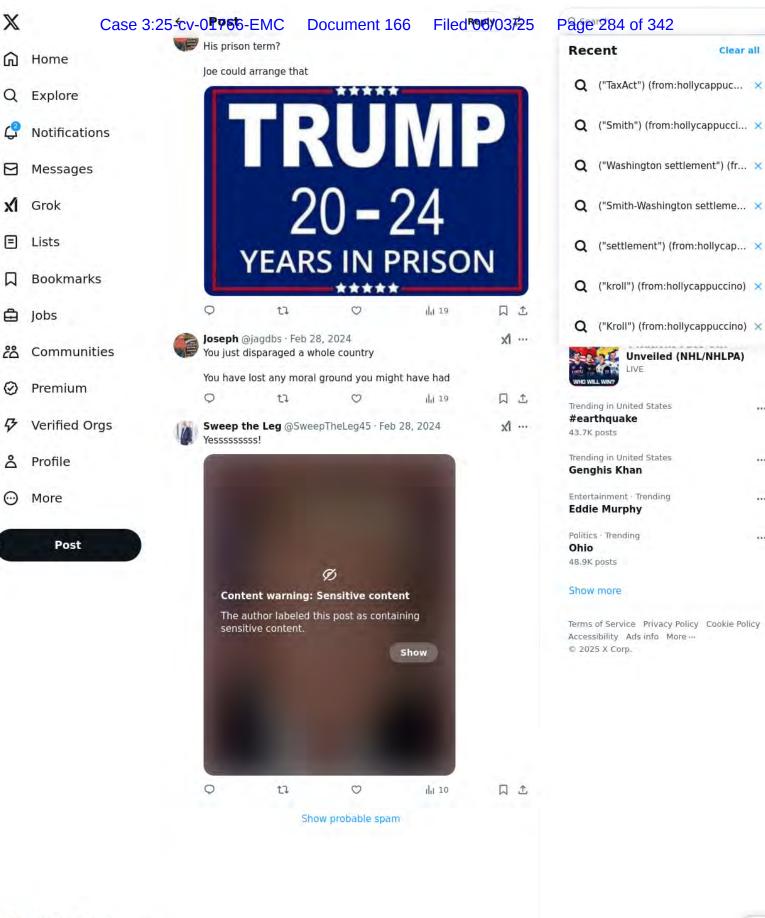
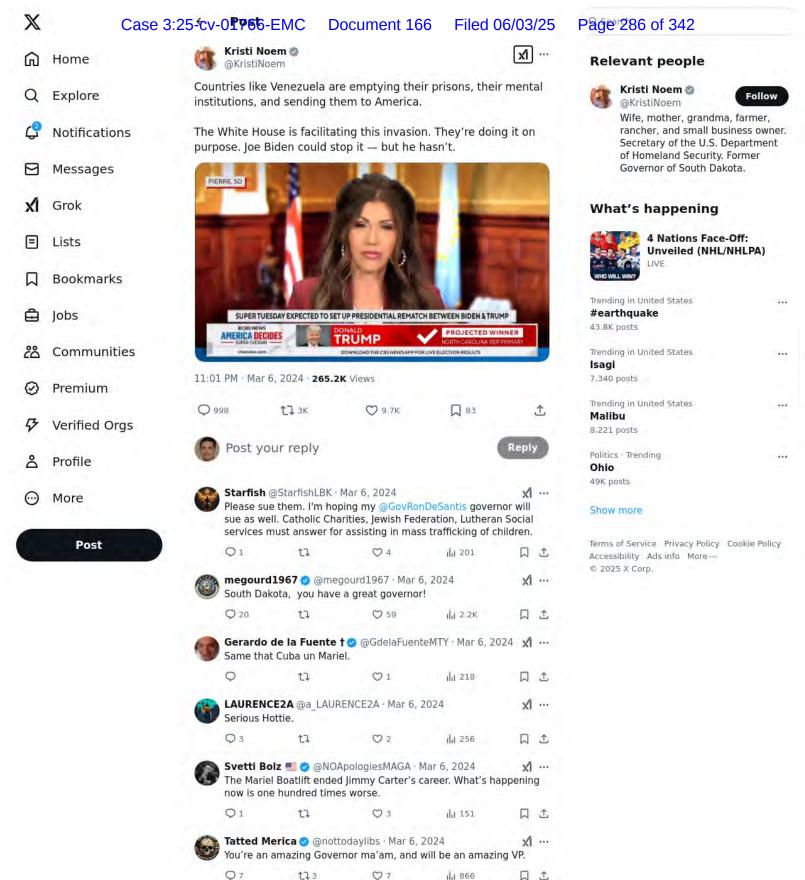






Exhibit 26







III 1.1K

Yup! So we have to deal with Venezuela's problems. I pray 🚜

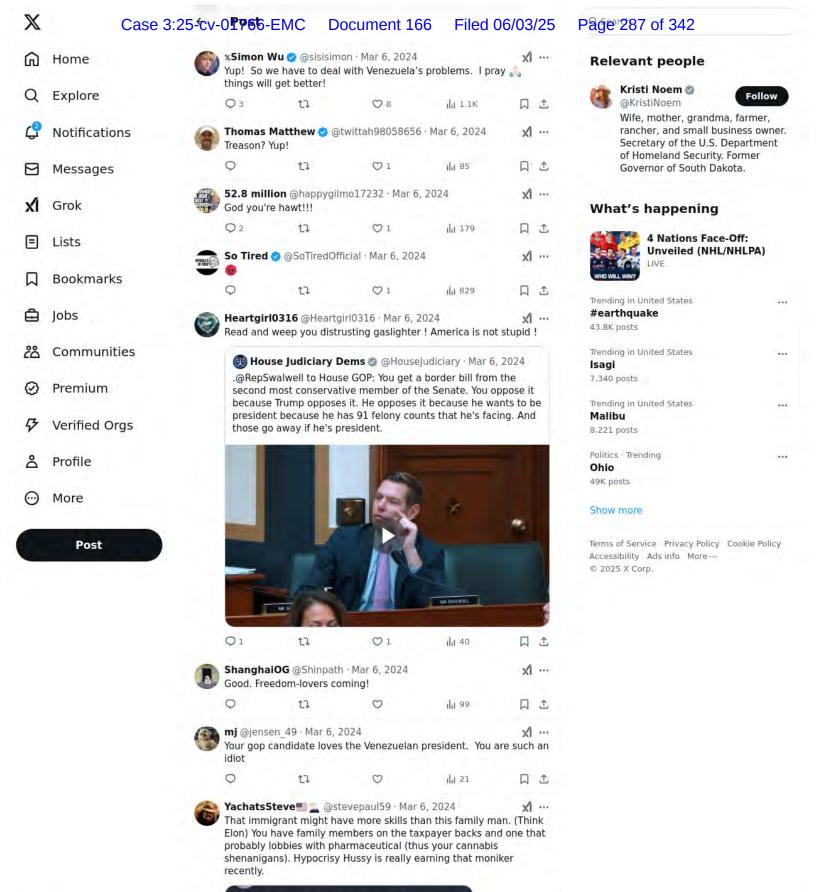
08

xSimon Wu 🤣 @sisisimon · Mar 6, 2024

17

things will get better!

03



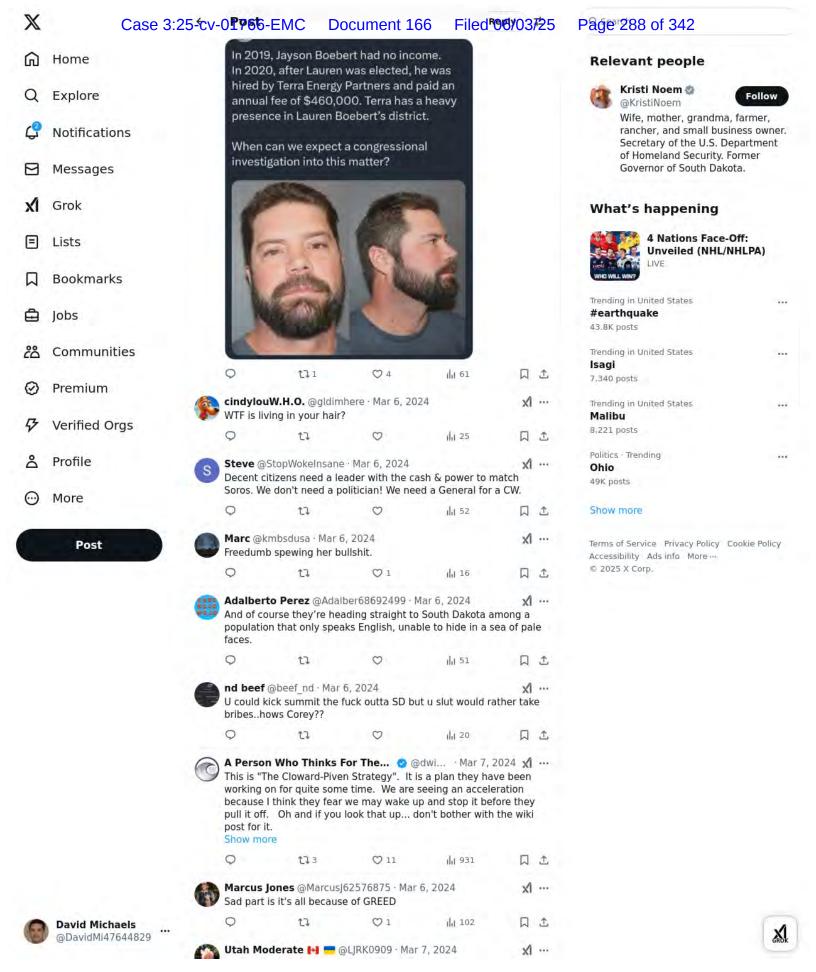


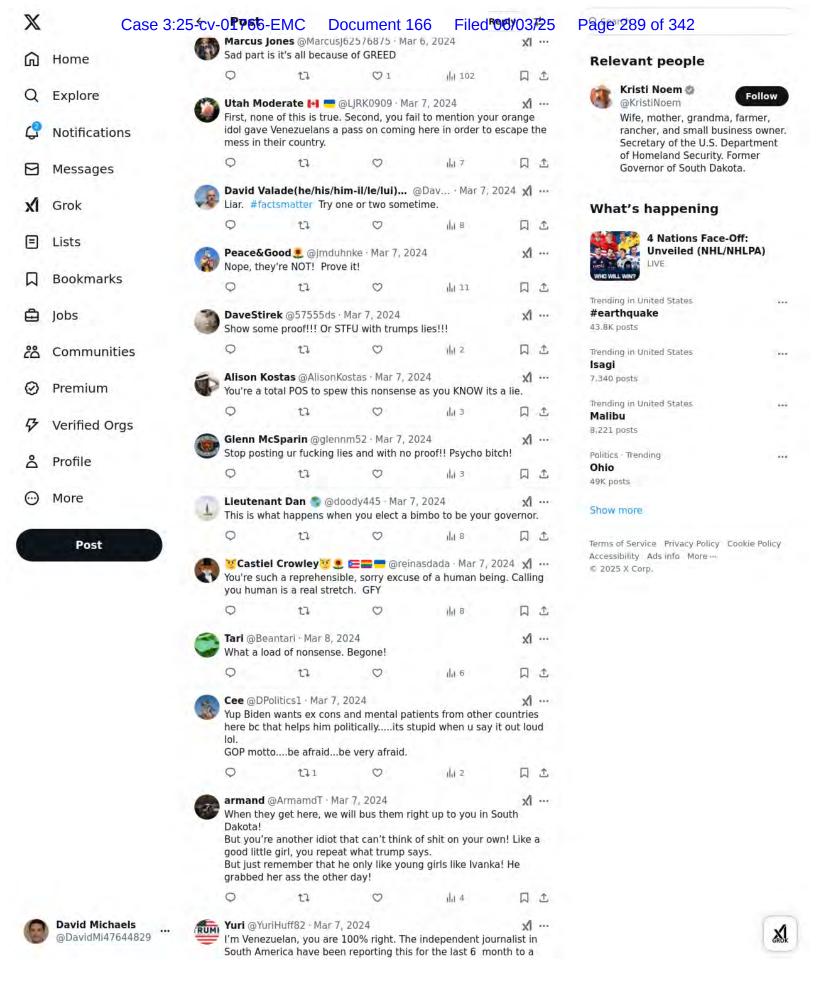


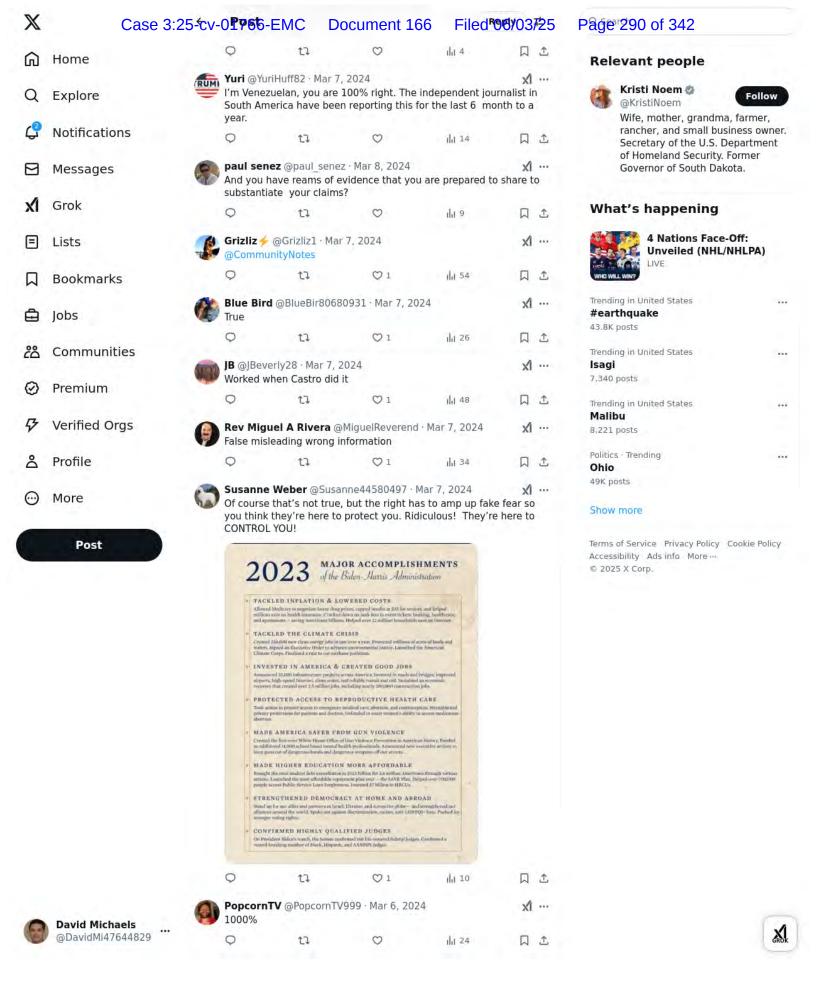
In 2019, Jayson Boebert had no income. In 2020, after Lauren was elected, he was

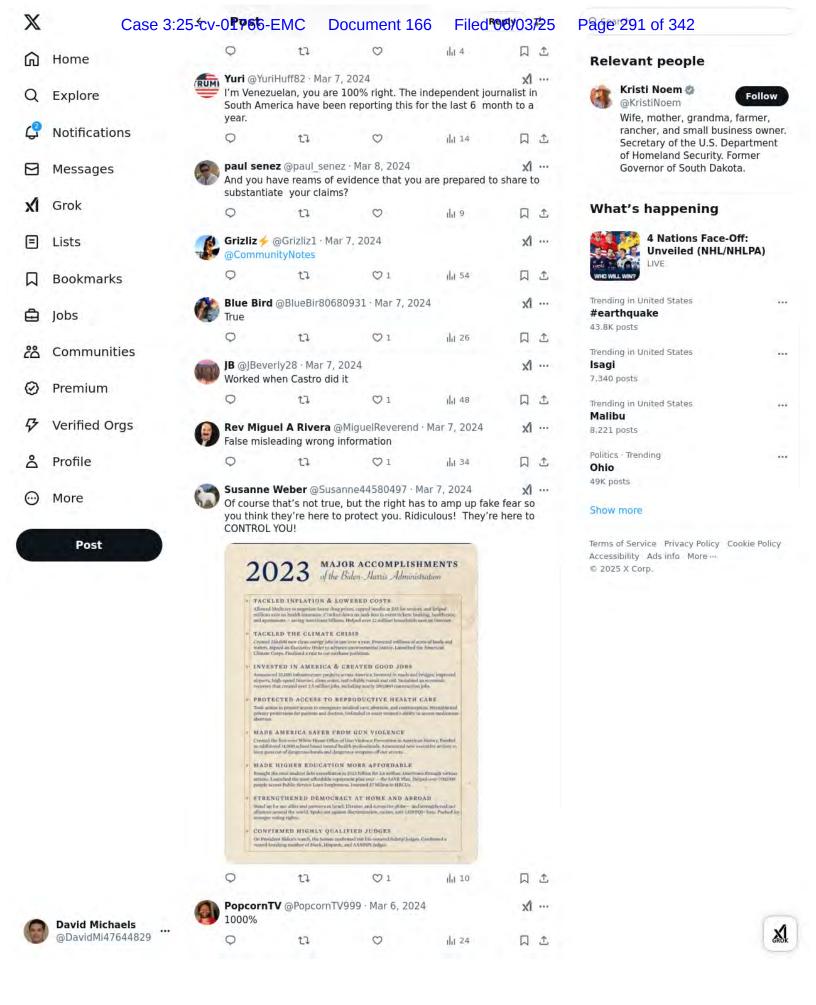
hired by Terra Energy Partners and paid an

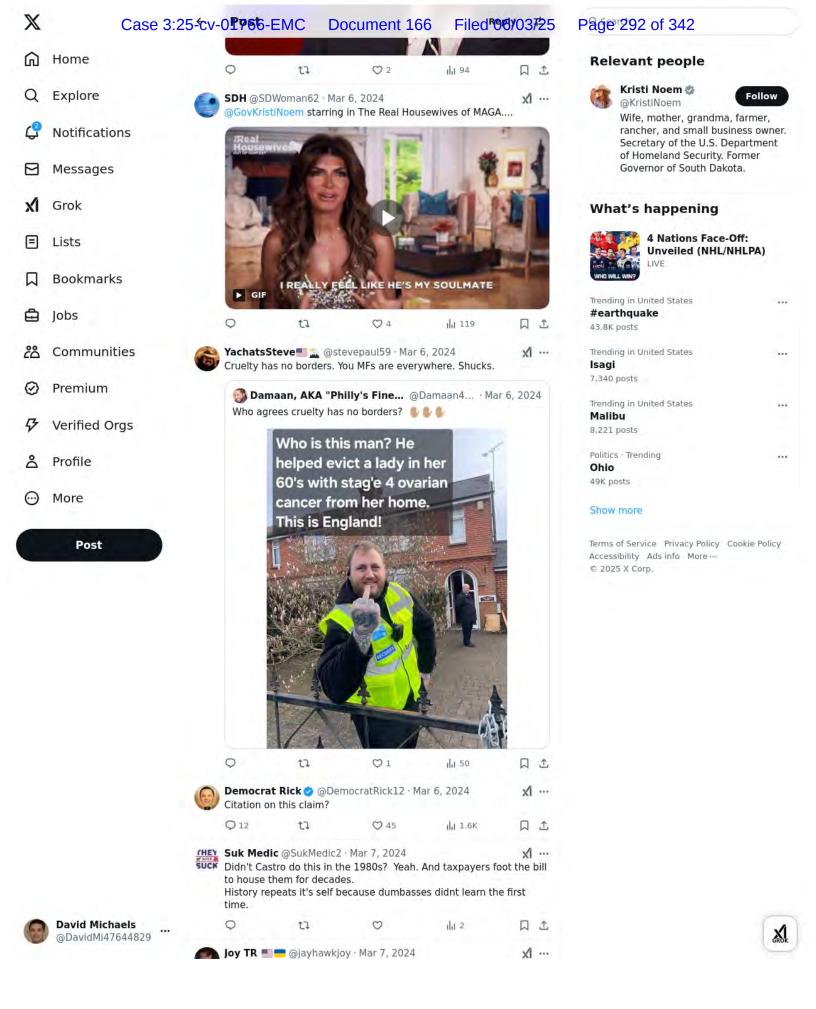
annual fee of \$460,000. Terra has a heavy

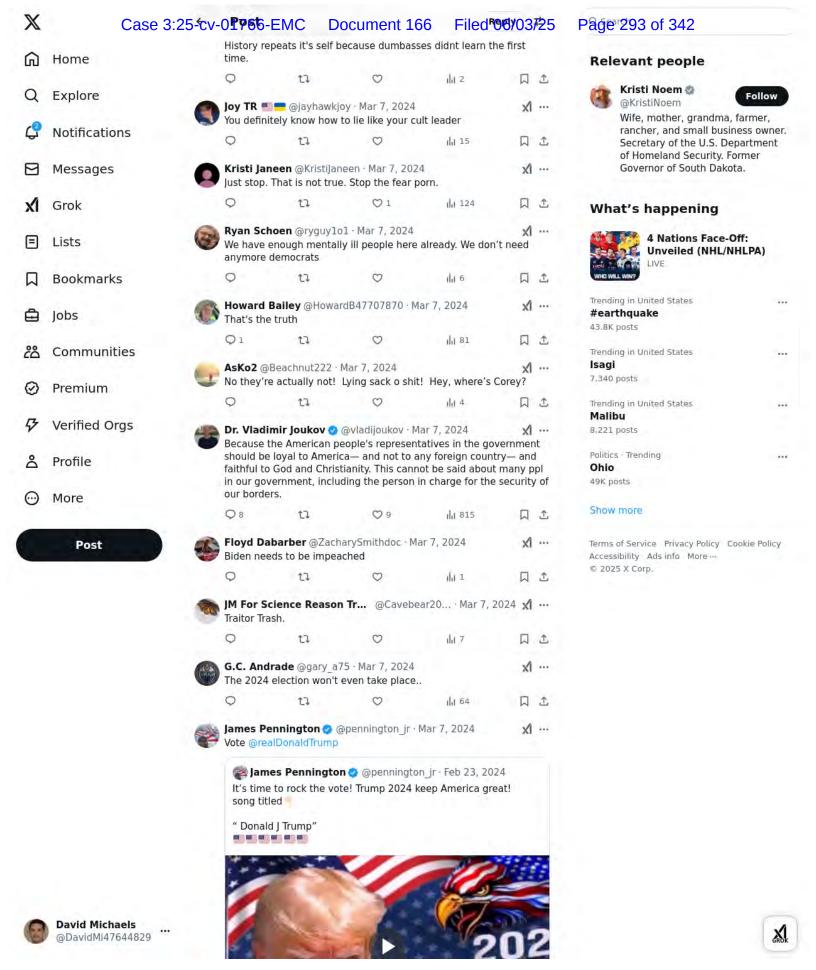


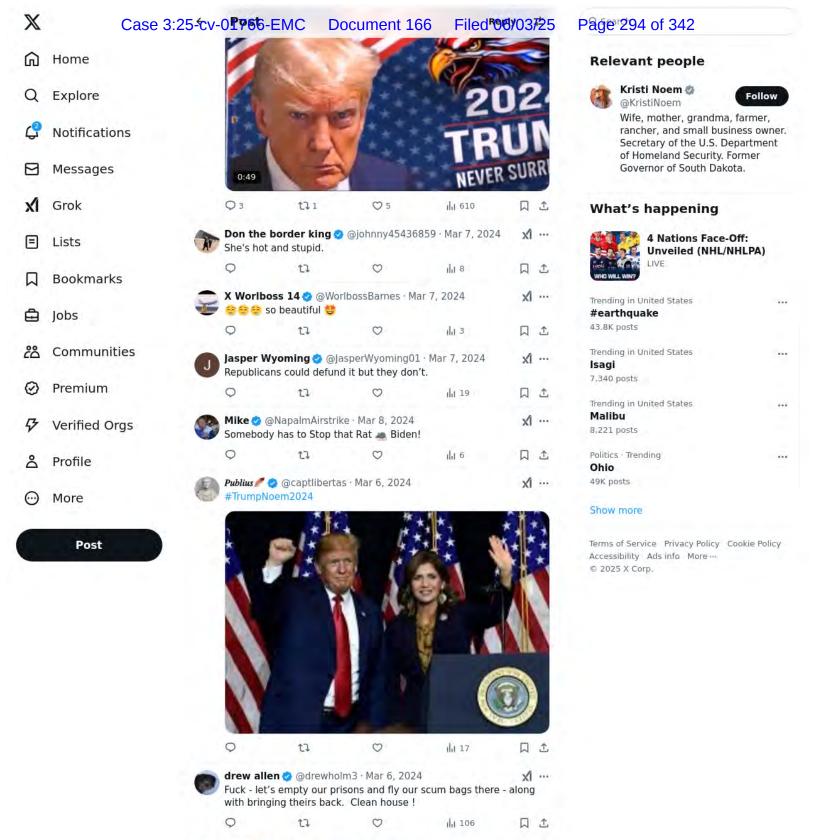












GROK

Ilil 58

Joseph 🤣 @Un_Spin_City · Mar 7, 2024

Steve Ferguson 🤡 @lsferguson · Mar 7, 2024

Democrats.

This invasion is by design

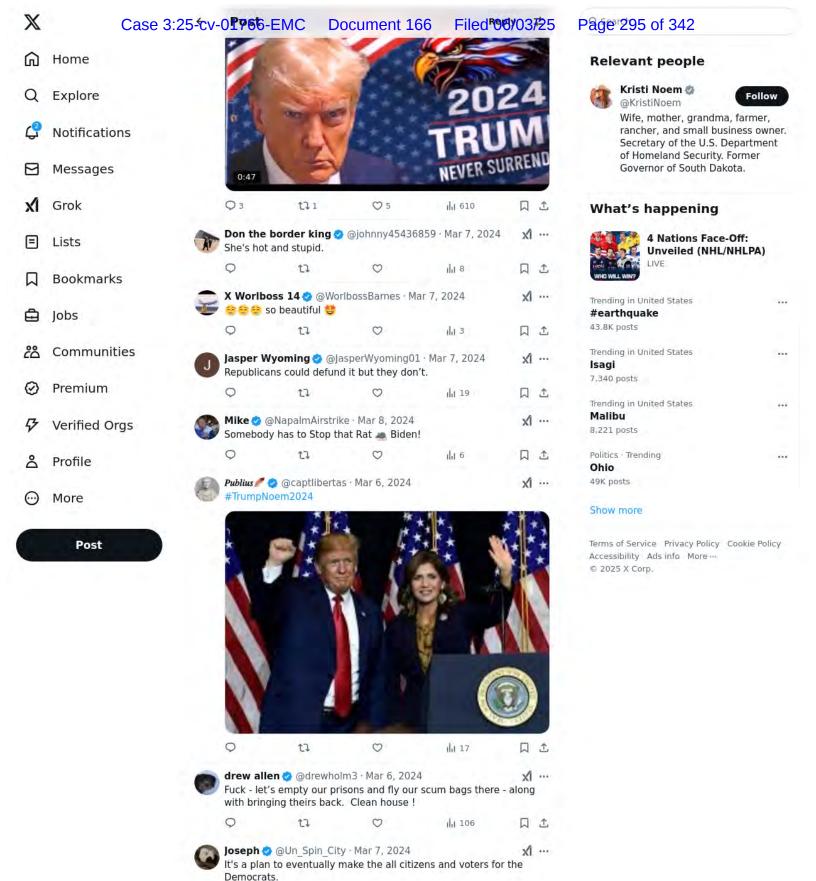
0

It's a plan to eventually make the all citizens and voters for the

0

David Michaels

@DavidMi47644829



Ilil 58

0

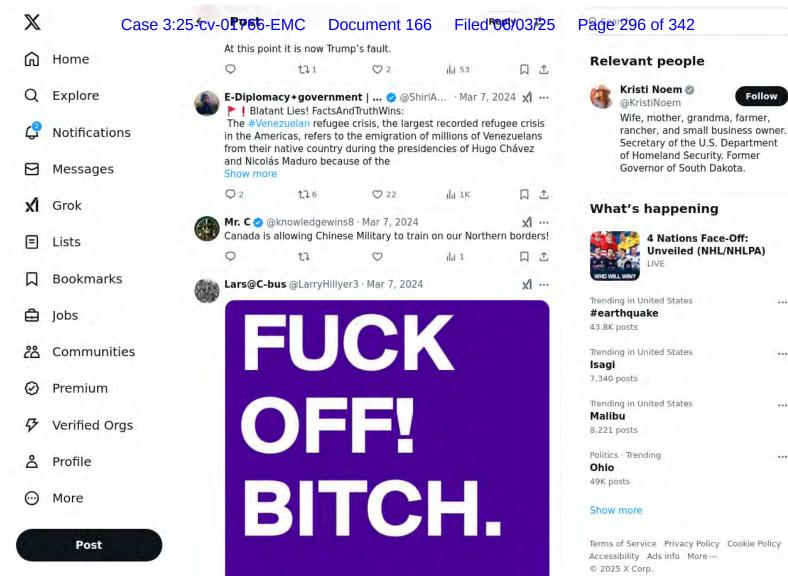
Steve Ferguson 🤡 @lsferguson · Mar 7, 2024

This invasion is by design

David Michaels

@DavidMi47644829

0



0

ti

SassyCassiefromTallahas... @SassyCassief... · Mar 7, 2024 x ... Sloppy seconds Noem aka Cory's cum Dumpster is leaking in the rear.

04

111 19

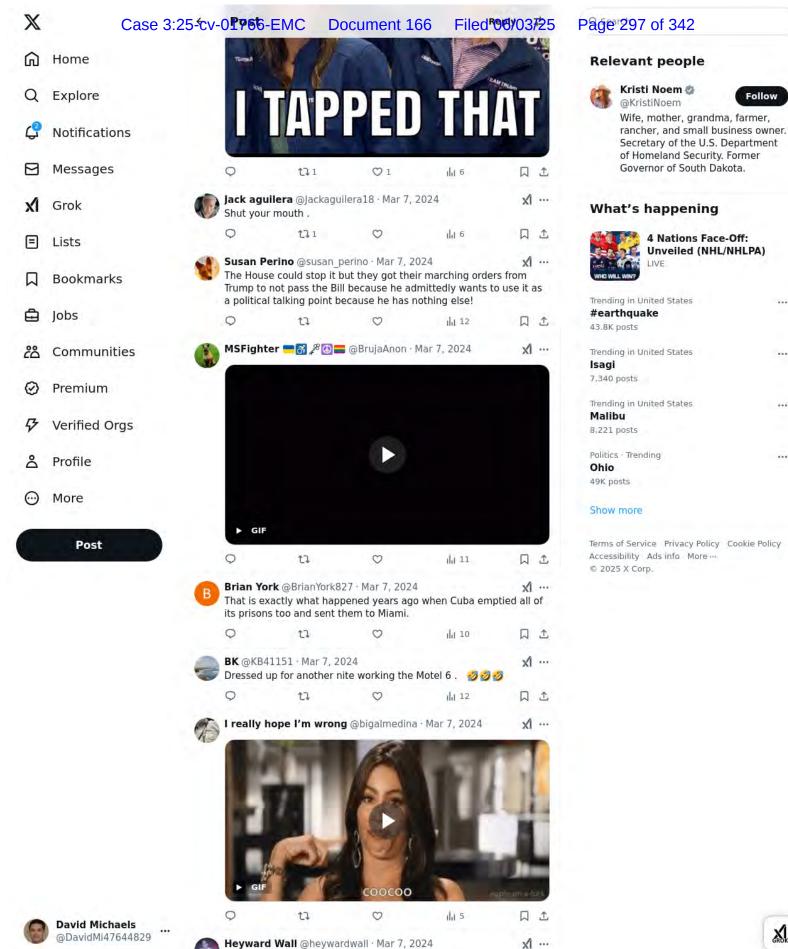
口土



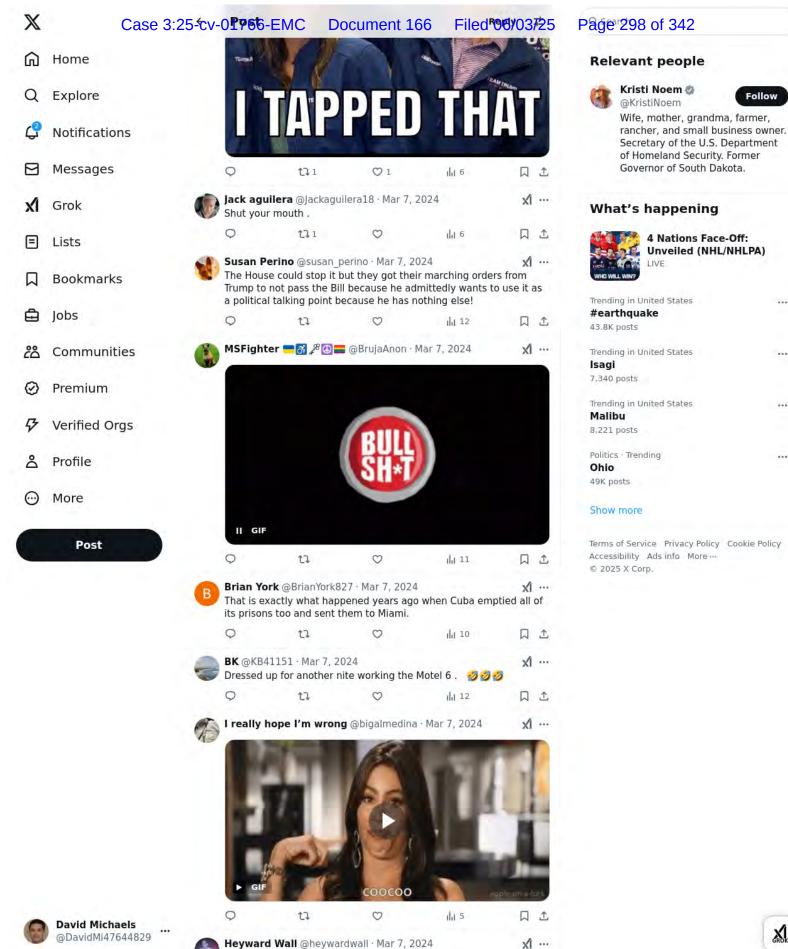




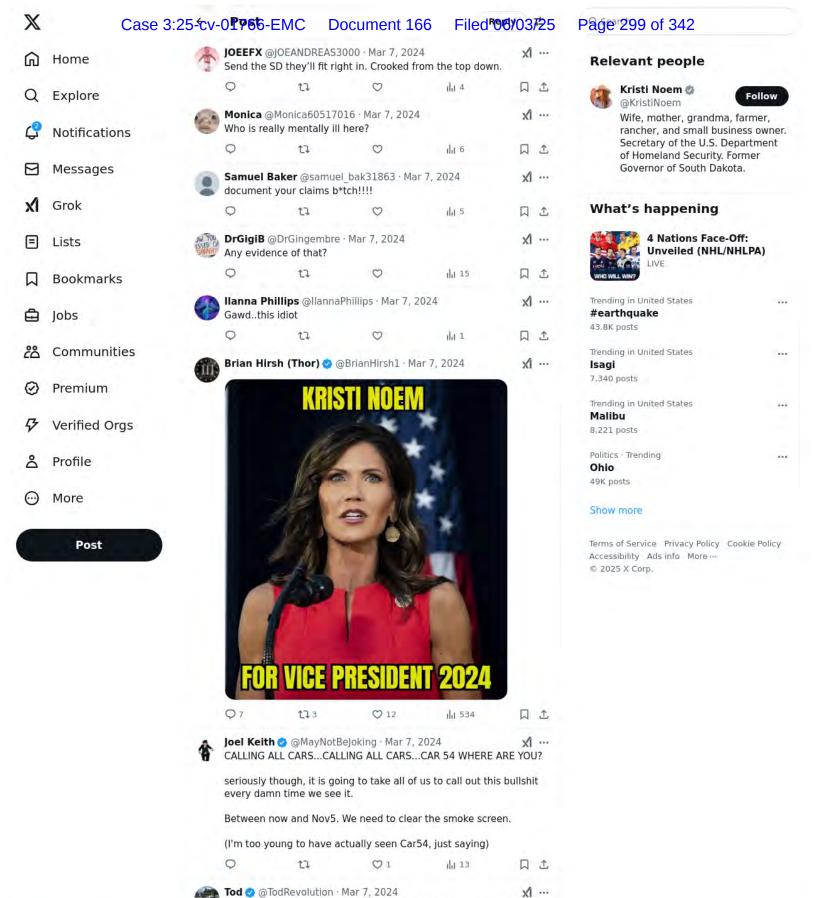
Follow













111 364

立 口

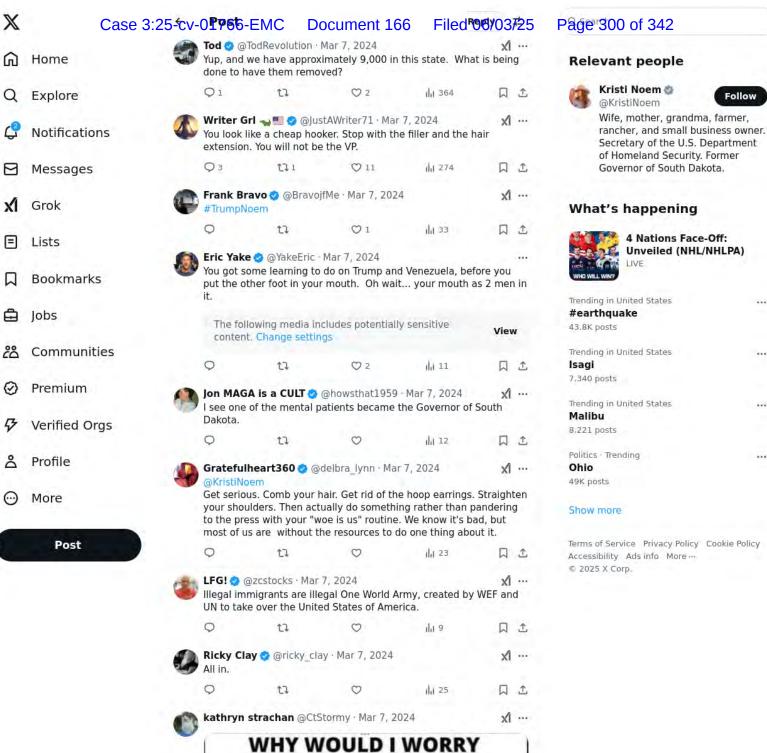
Yup, and we have approximately 9,000 in this state. What is being

02

done to have them removed?

t]

Q1











Home

Explore

Notifications

Messages

Grok

Lists

Bookmarks

Jobs

Communities

Premium

Verified Orgs

Profile

More

Post



Blue Tsunami @SkyBlueTsunami · Mar 8, 2024 x1 ... As Kirsti is at level 3 Meghan hair, we only have to hear from for another 6 months, tops.



<u>↑↑↑↑↑</u>Oh Happy Day!!!<u>↑↑↑</u>... @... · Mar 8, 2024 💉 ···





Relevant people



Kristi Noem 🐡 @KristiNoem



Wife, mother, grandma, farmer, rancher, and small business owner. Secretary of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security. Former Governor of South Dakota.

What's happening



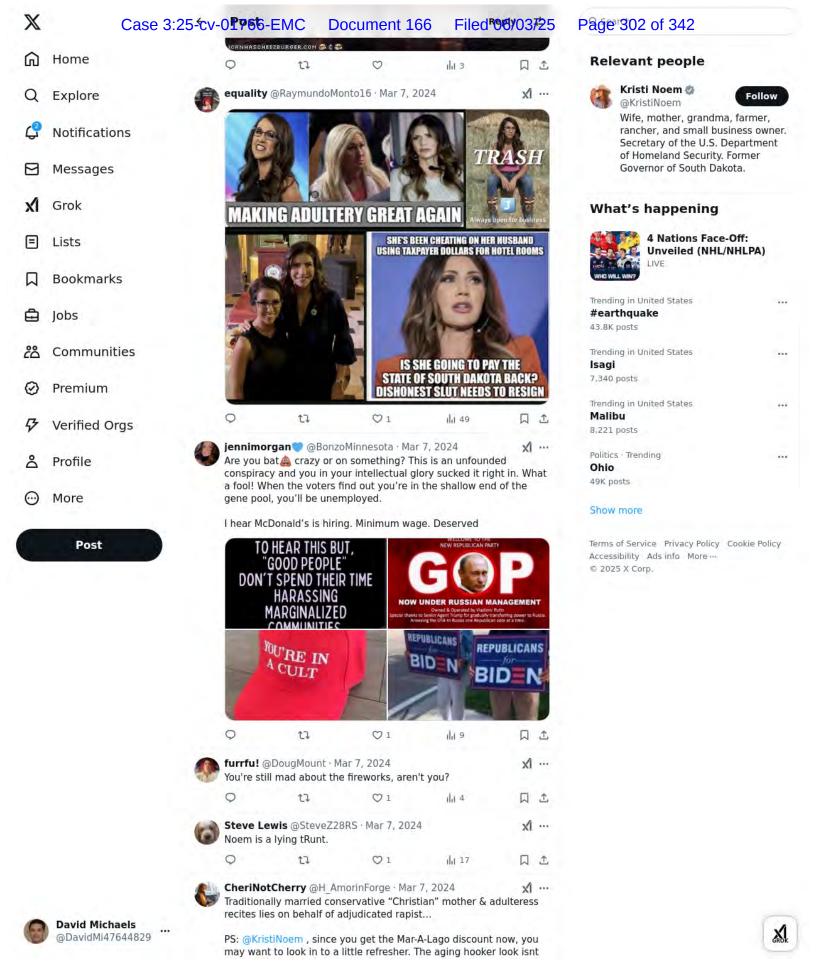
4 Nations Face-Off: Unveiled (NHL/NHLPA)

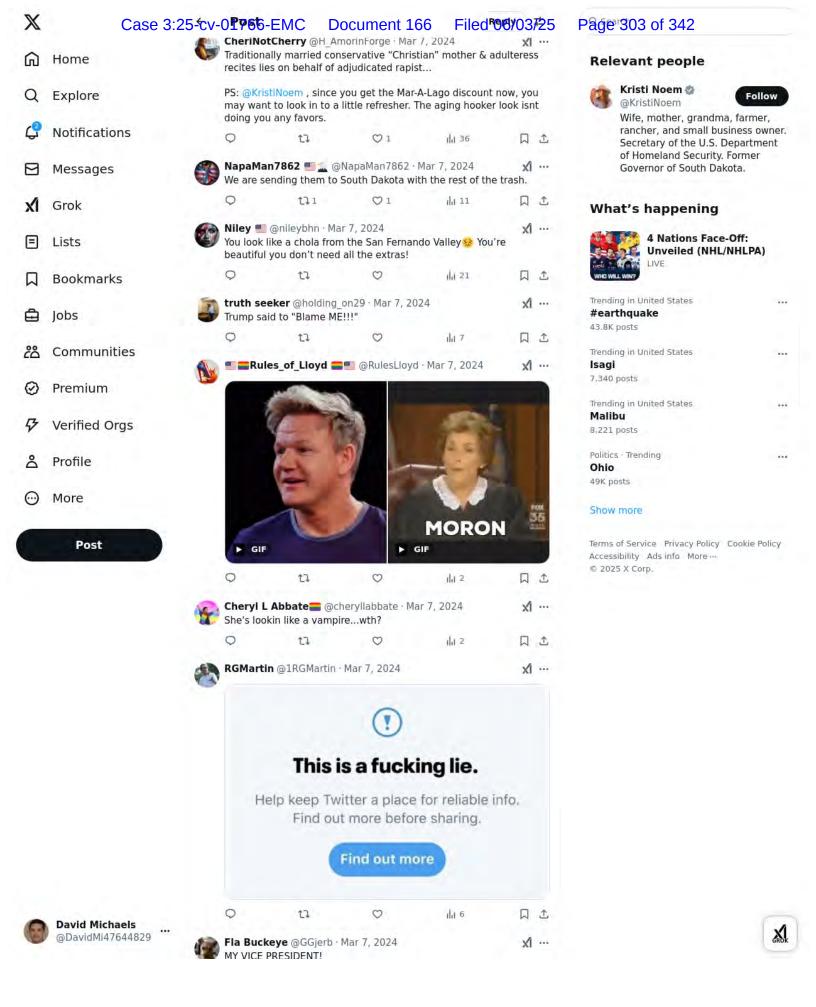
Trending in United States #earthquake 43.8K posts Trending in United States Isagi 7,340 posts Trending in United States Malibu 8,221 posts Politics · Trending Ohio 49K posts Show more

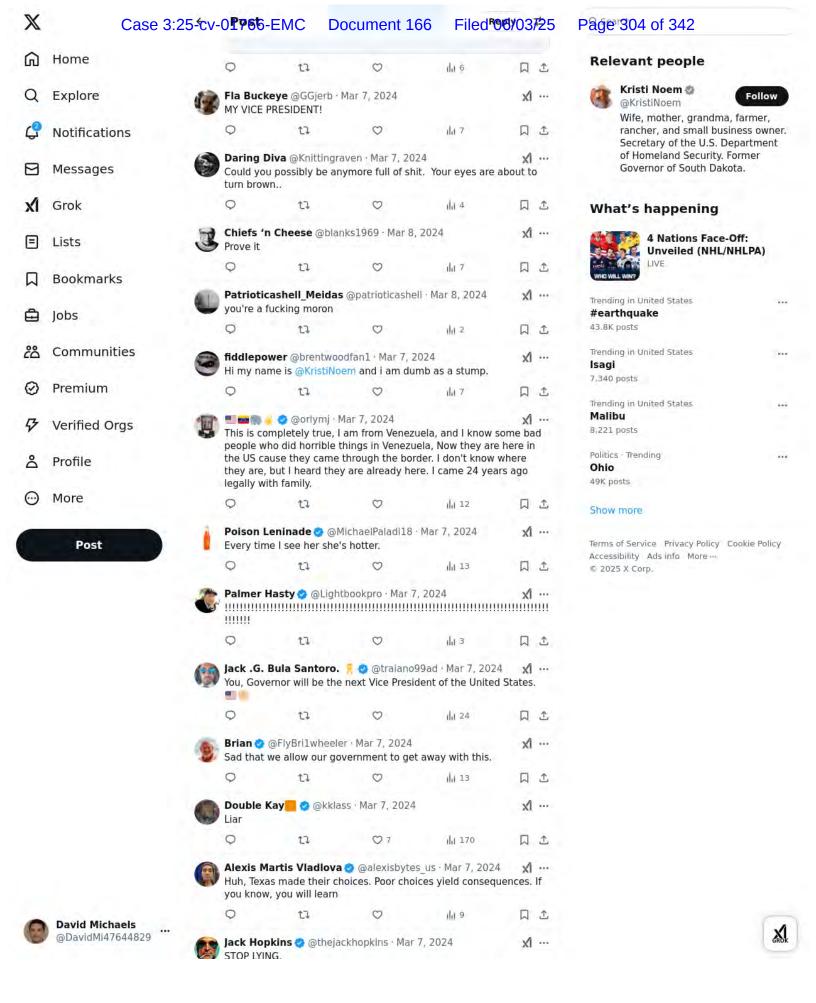
Terms of Service Privacy Policy Cookie Policy Accessibility Ads info More ... © 2025 X Corp.

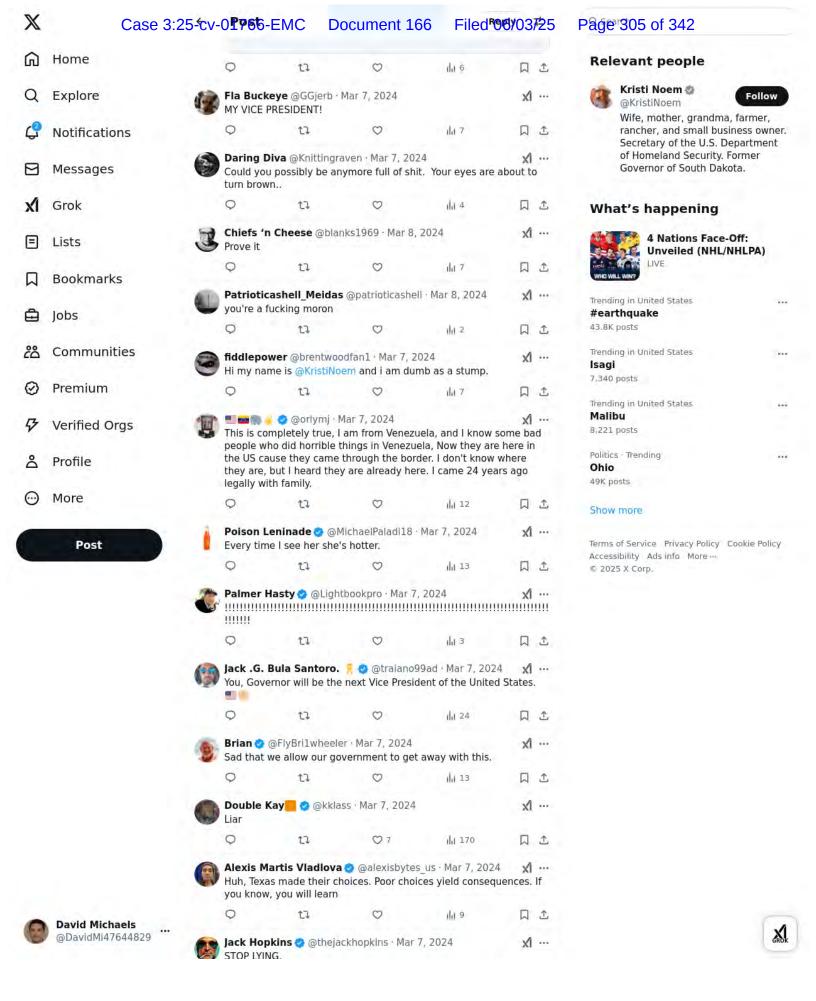


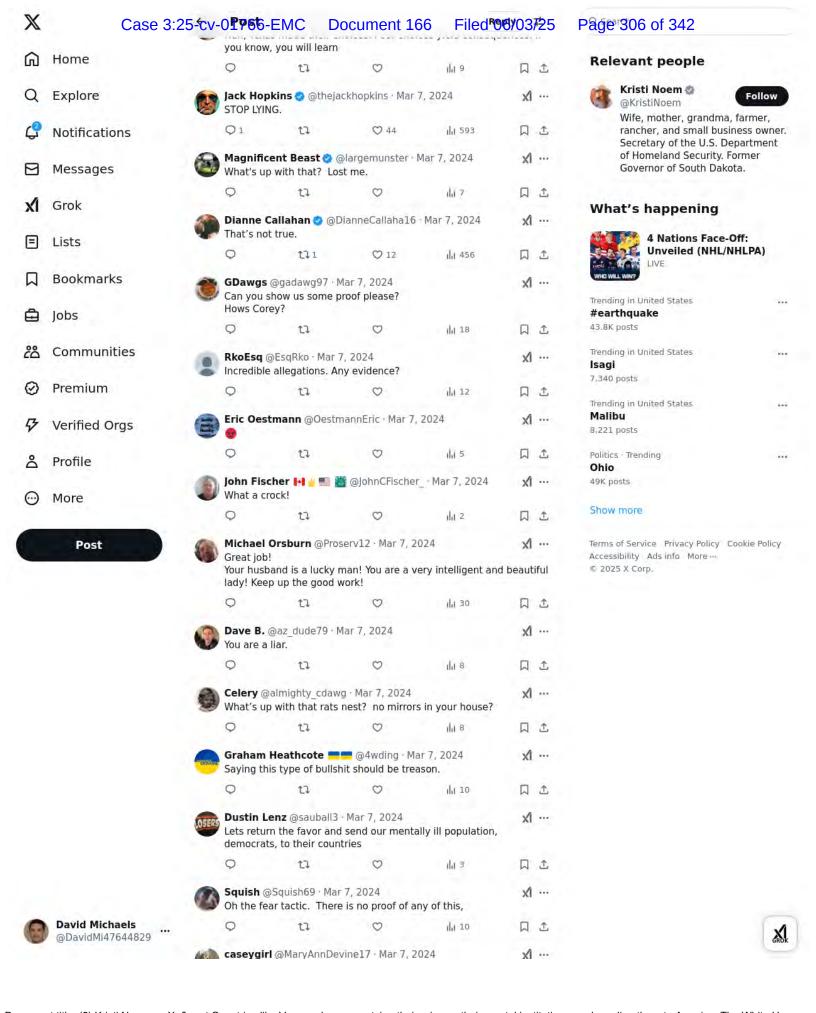


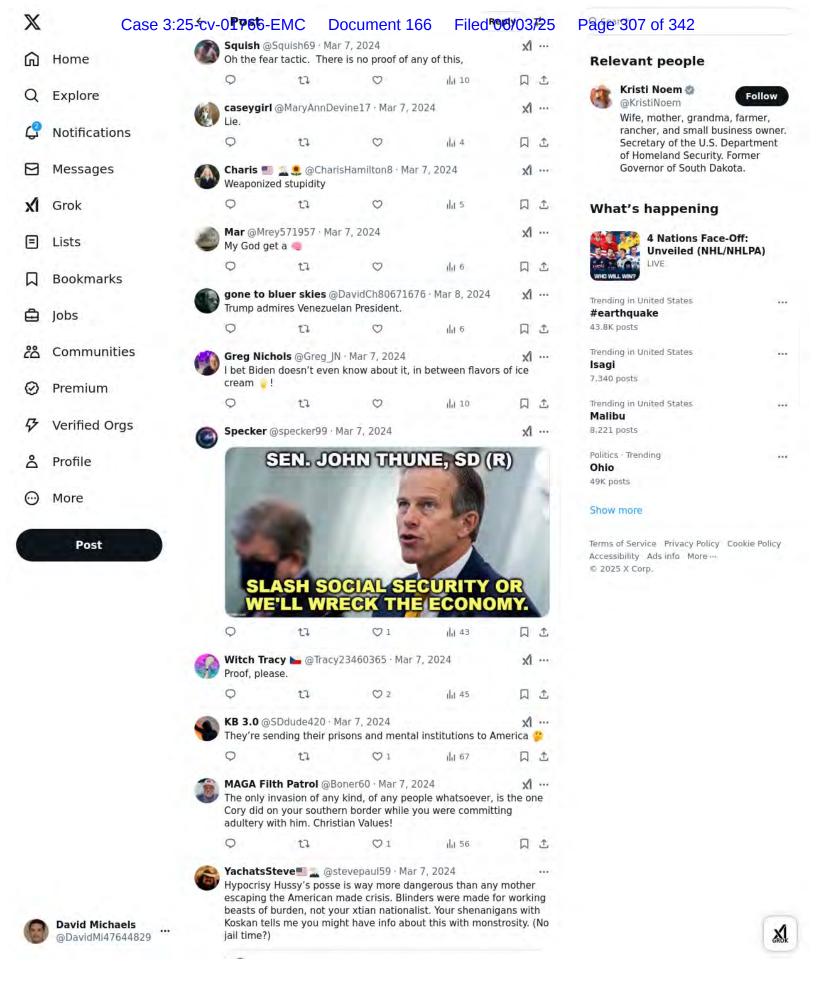


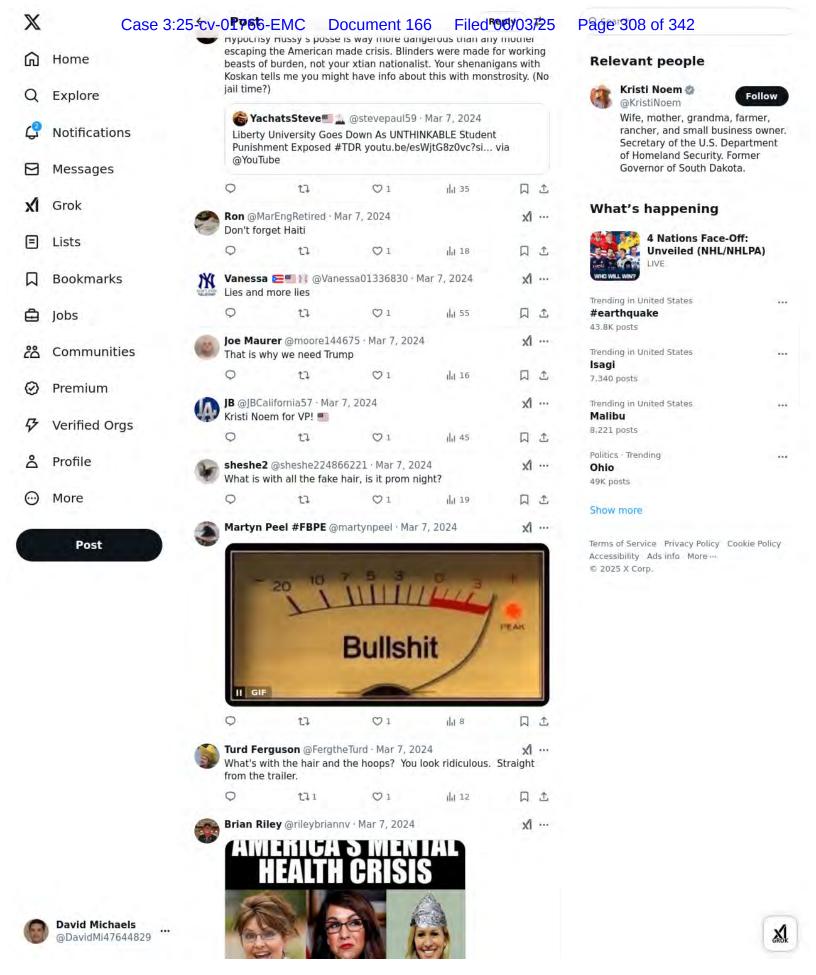


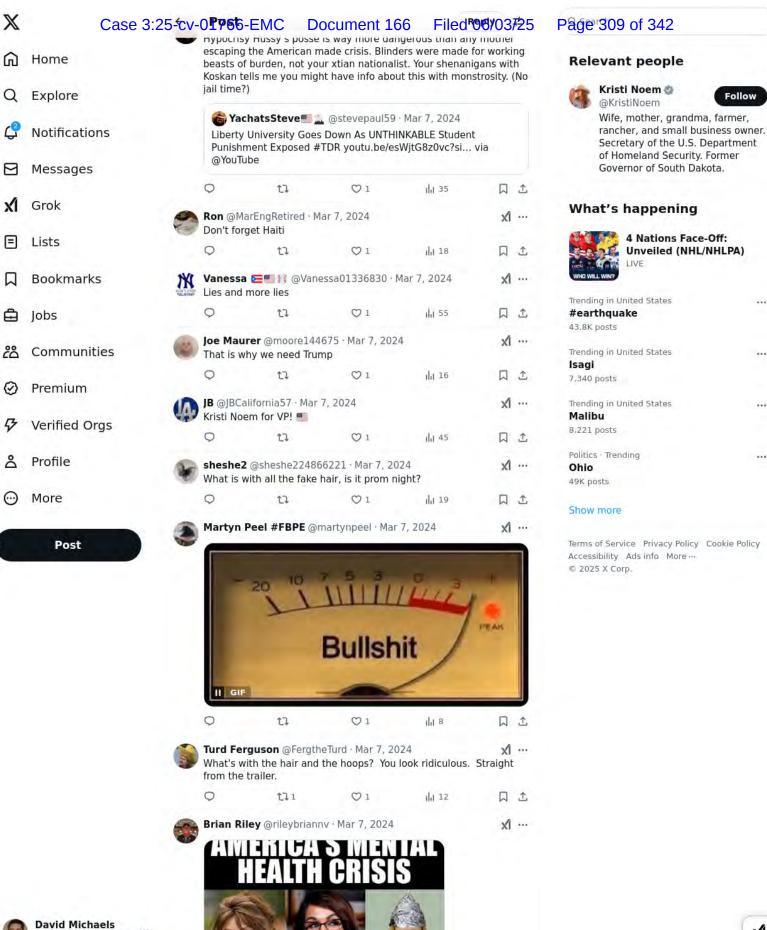






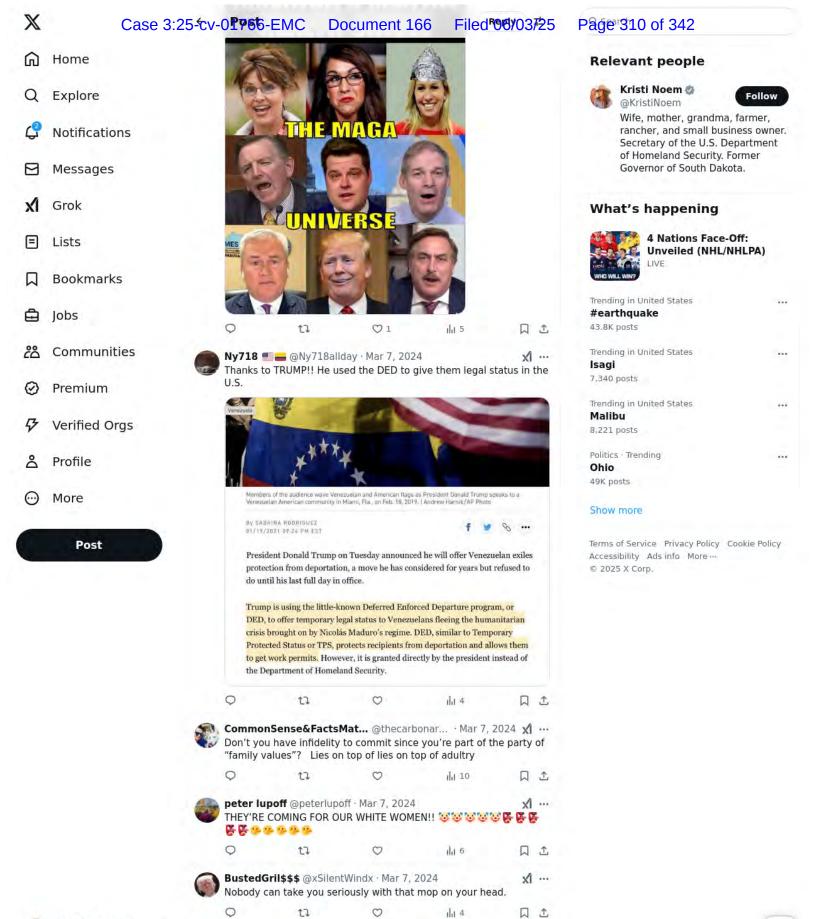








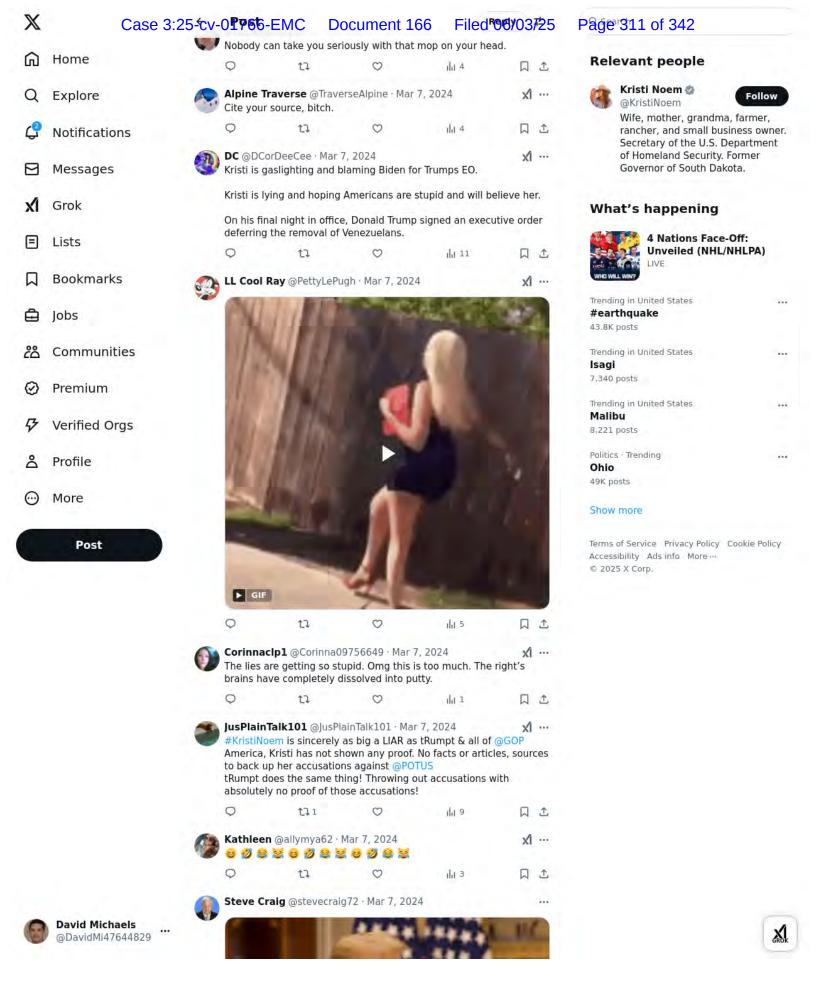
@DavidMi47644829

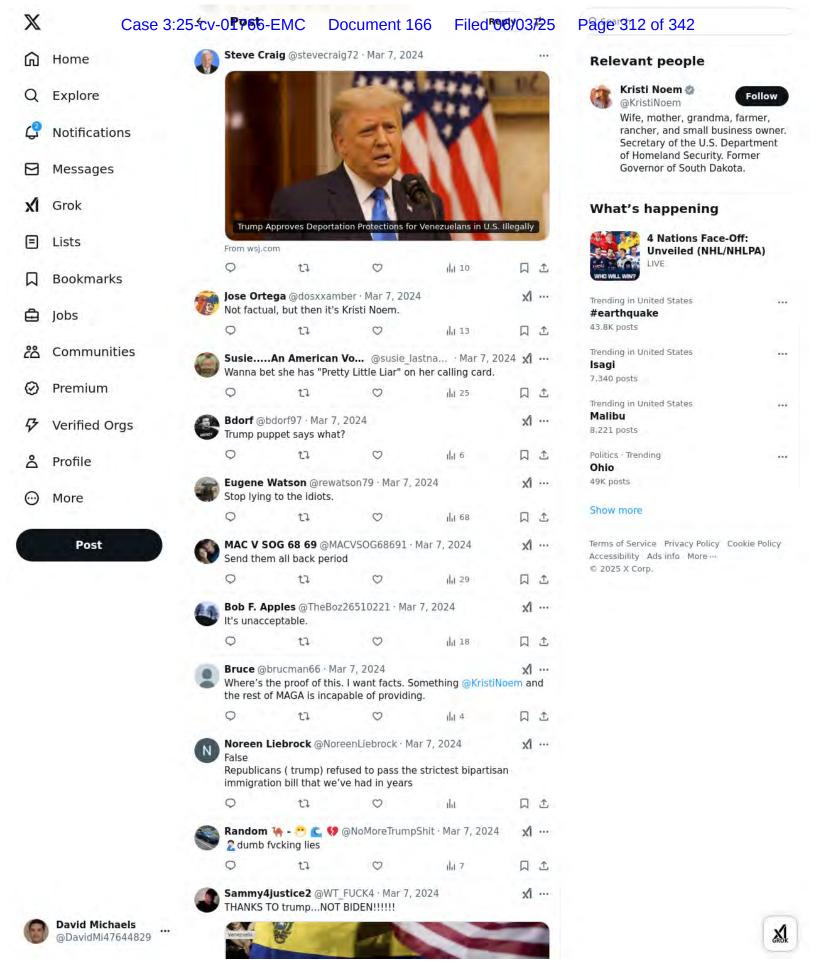


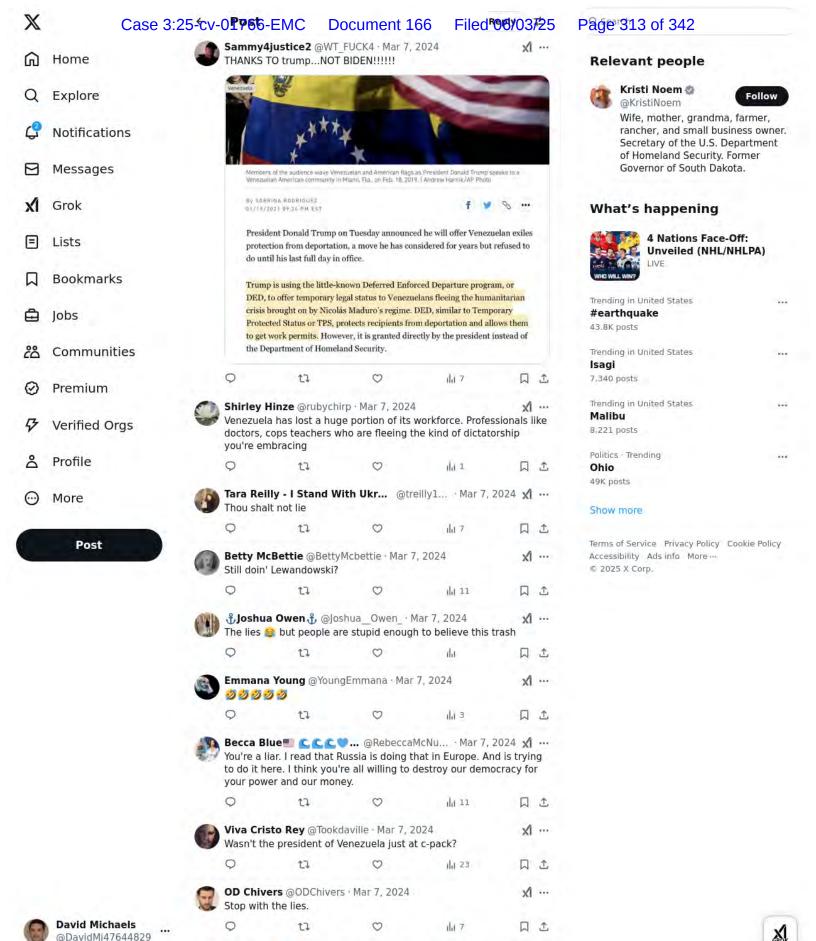
x1 ...

Alpine Traverse @TraverseAlpine · Mar 7, 2024

Cite your source, bitch.







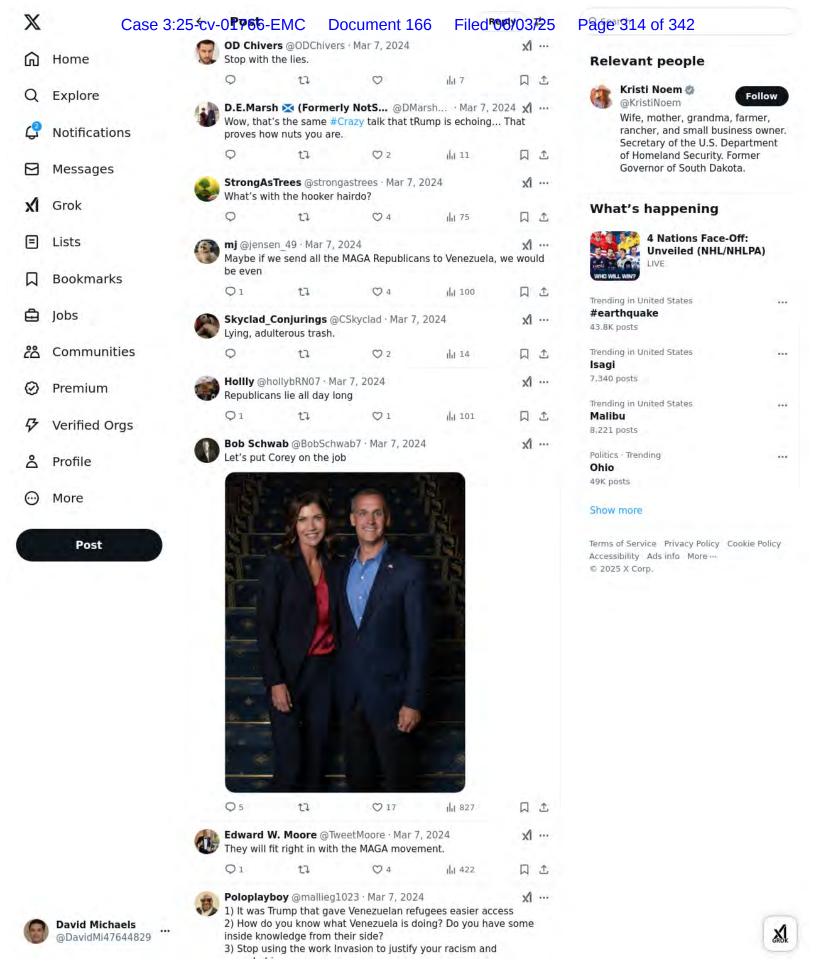
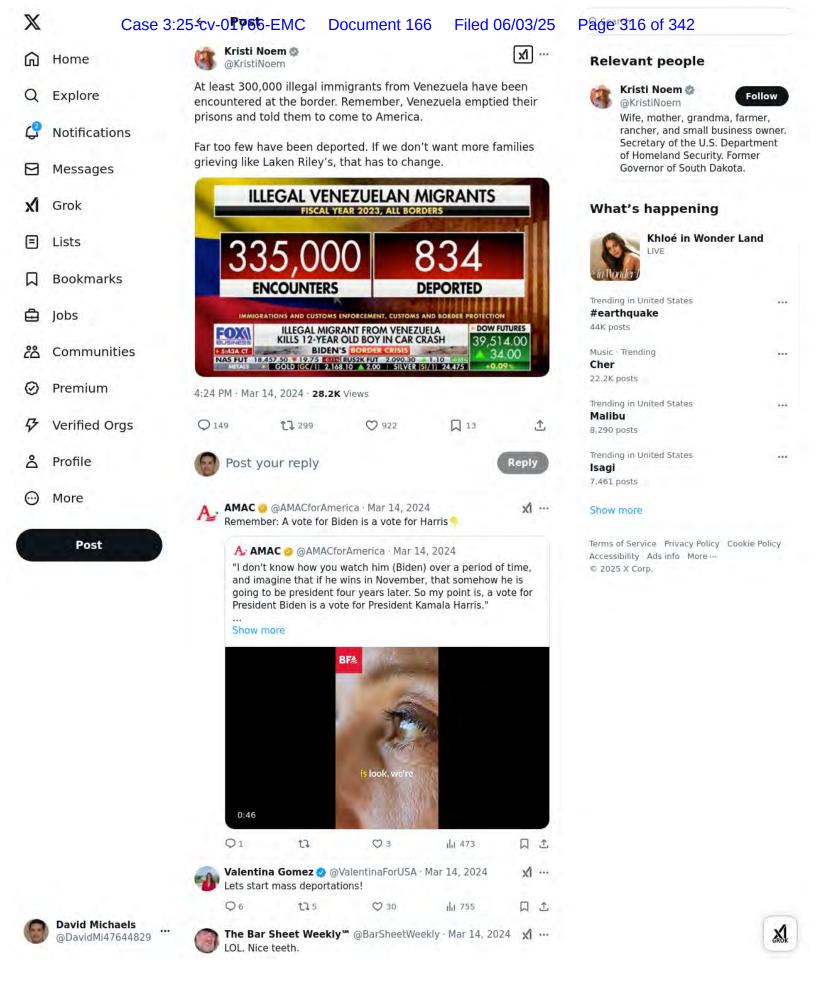
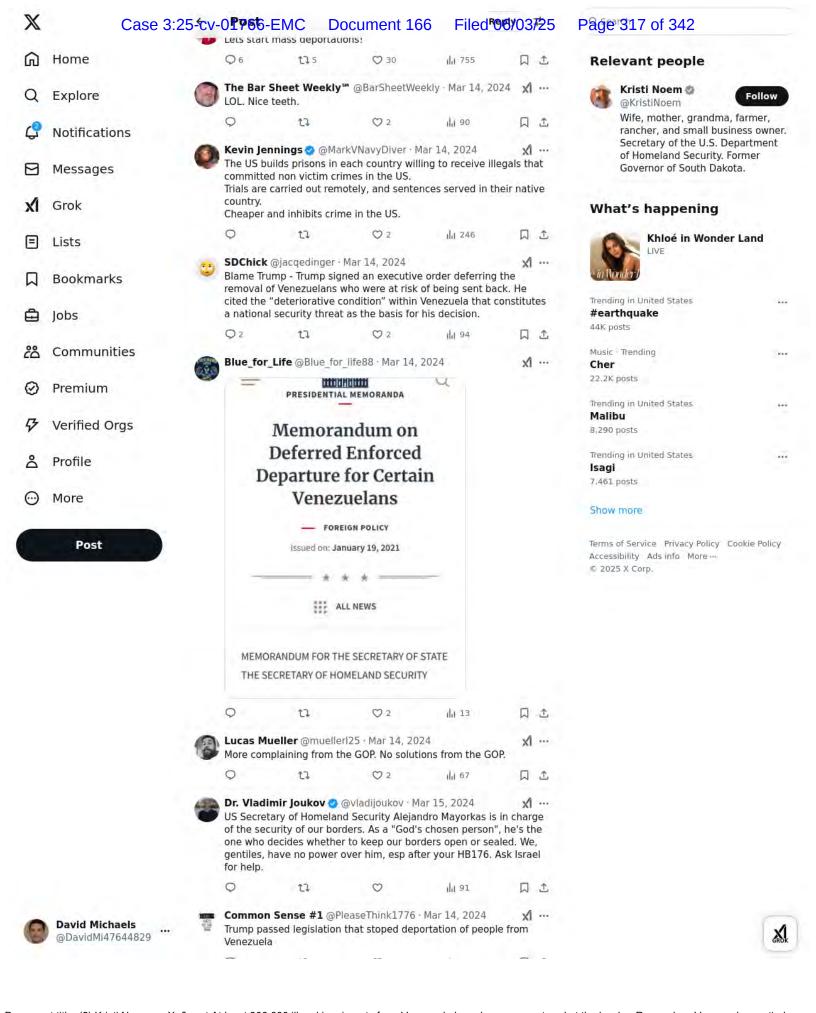
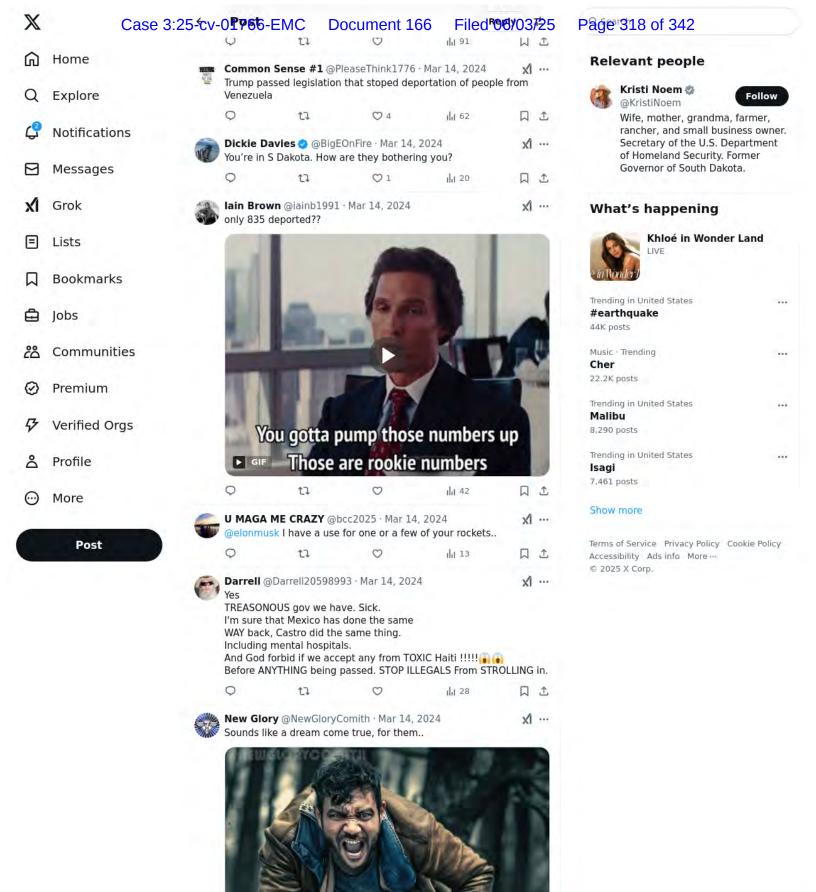


Exhibit 27

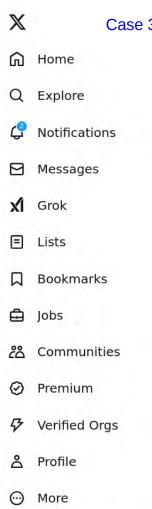




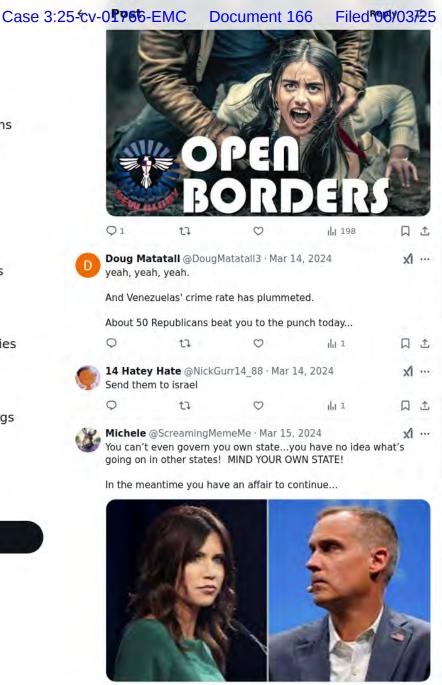




Page 3 of 24









Page 319 of 342

Relevant people



Kristi Noem @ @KristiNoem



Wife, mother, grandma, farmer, rancher, and small business owner. Secretary of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security. Former Governor of South Dakota.

What's happening



Khloé in Wonder Land

LIVE

Trending in United States

#earthquake
44K posts

Music · Trending
Cher
22.2K posts

Trending in United States

Malibu

8,290 posts

7,461 posts

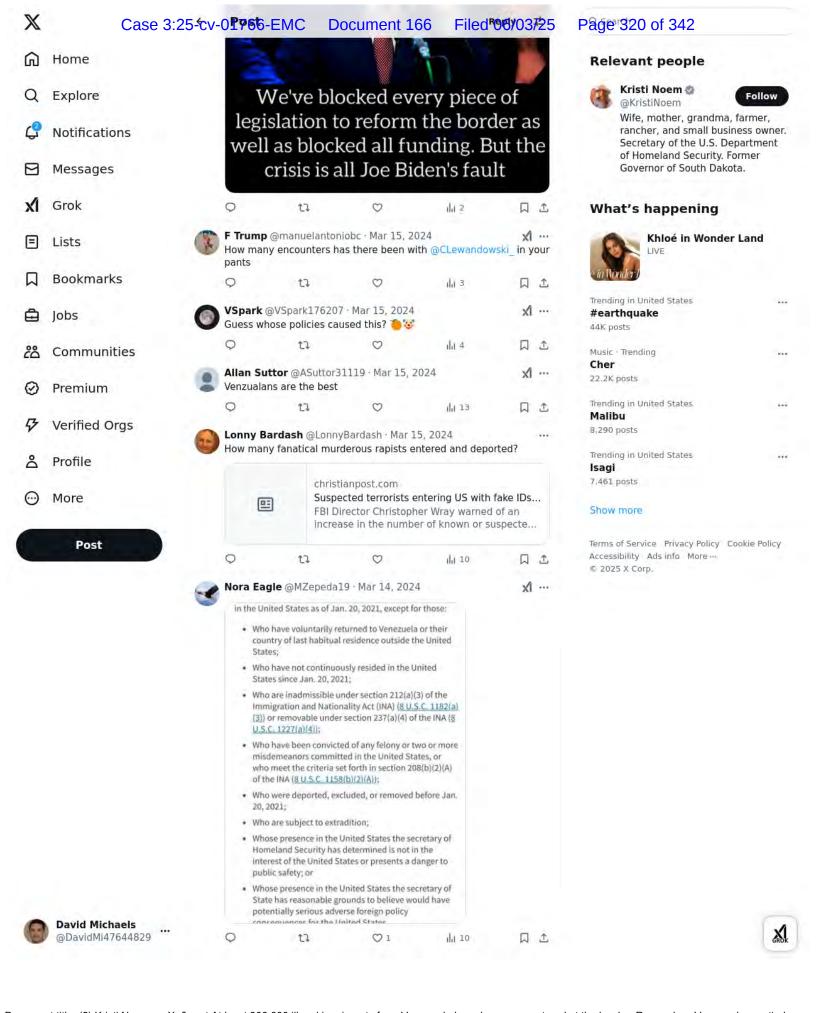
Trending in United States

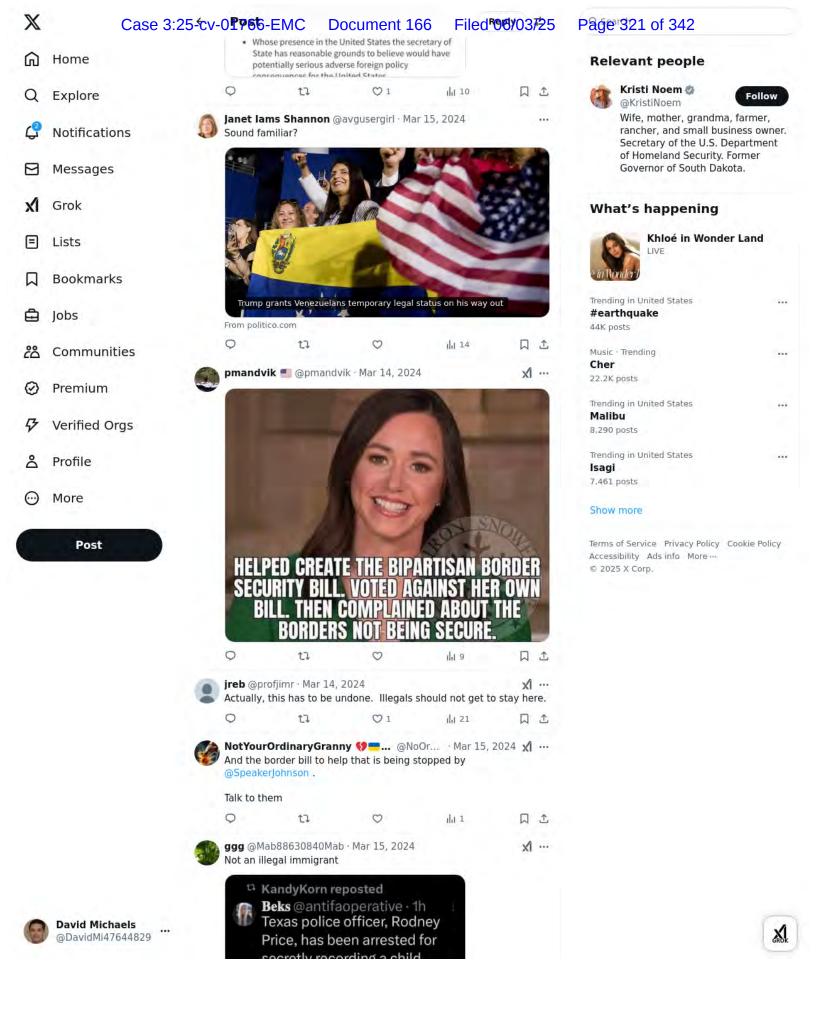
Show more

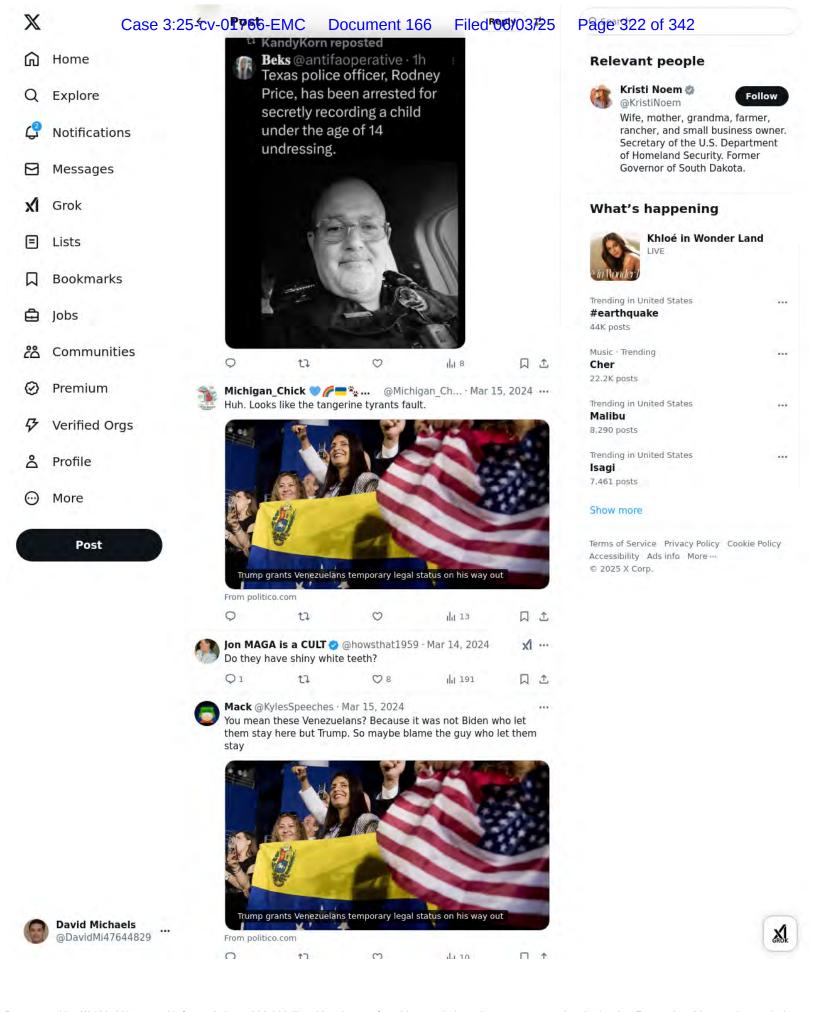
Terms of Service Privacy Policy Cookie Policy Accessibility Ads info More ··· © 2025 X Corp.

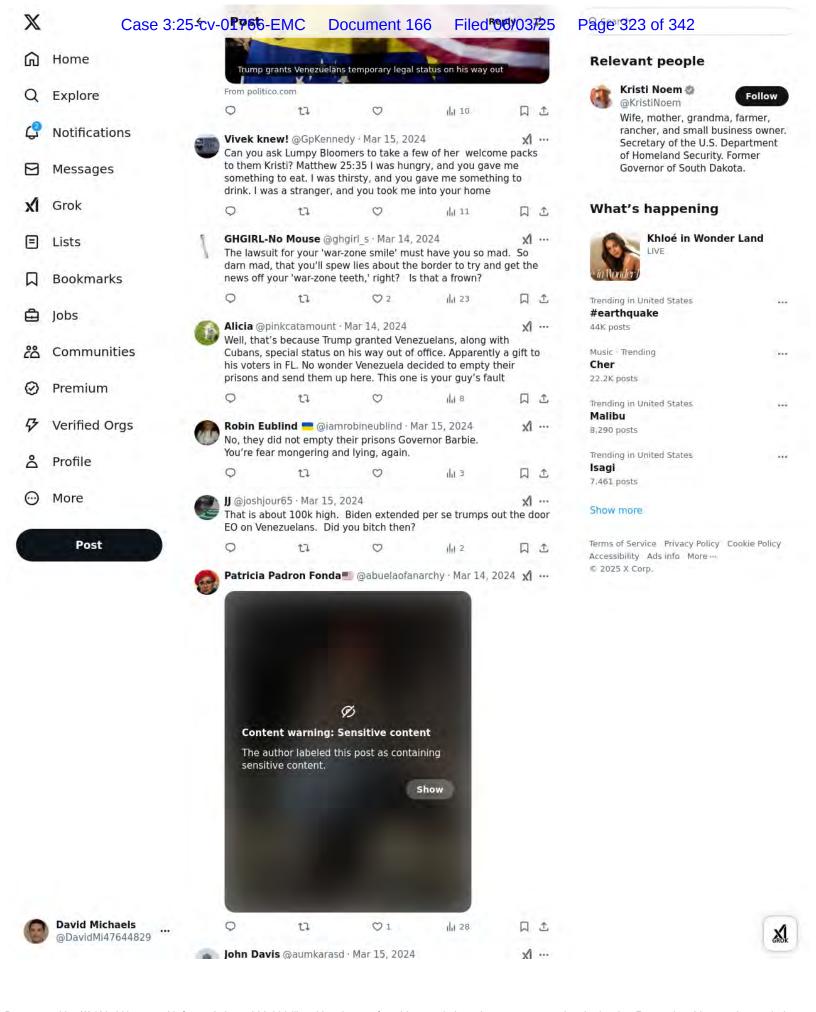


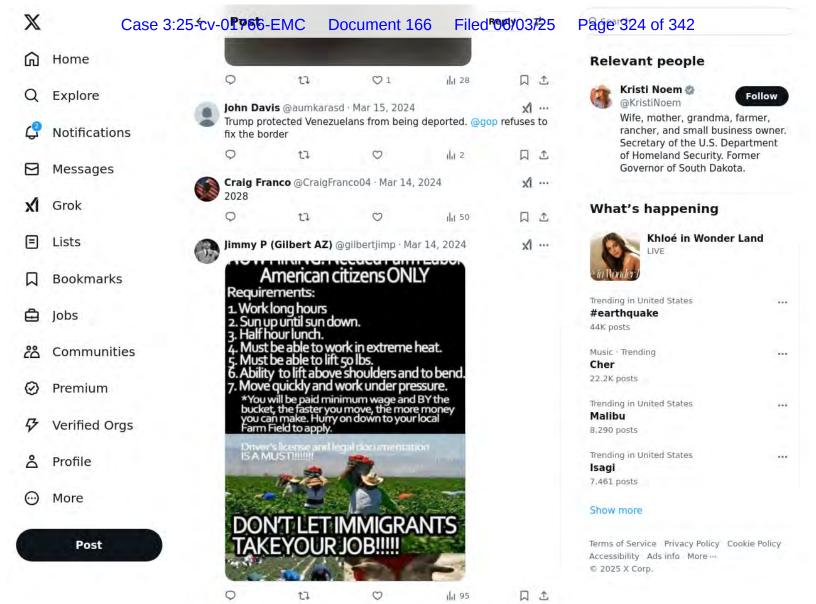










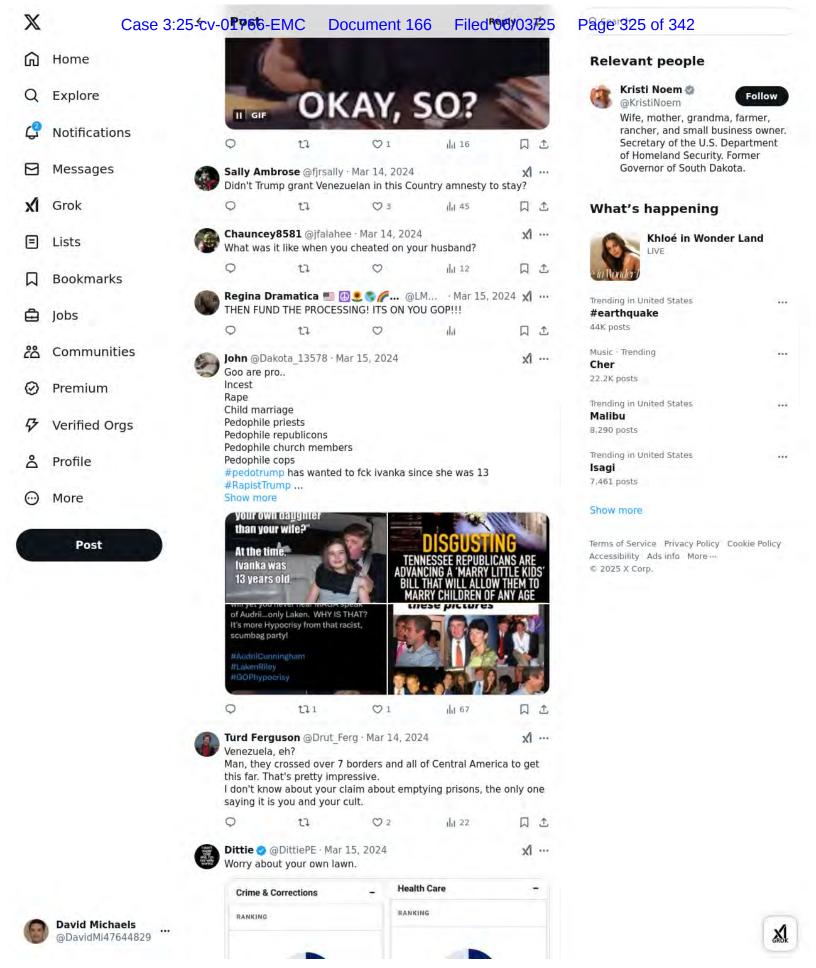


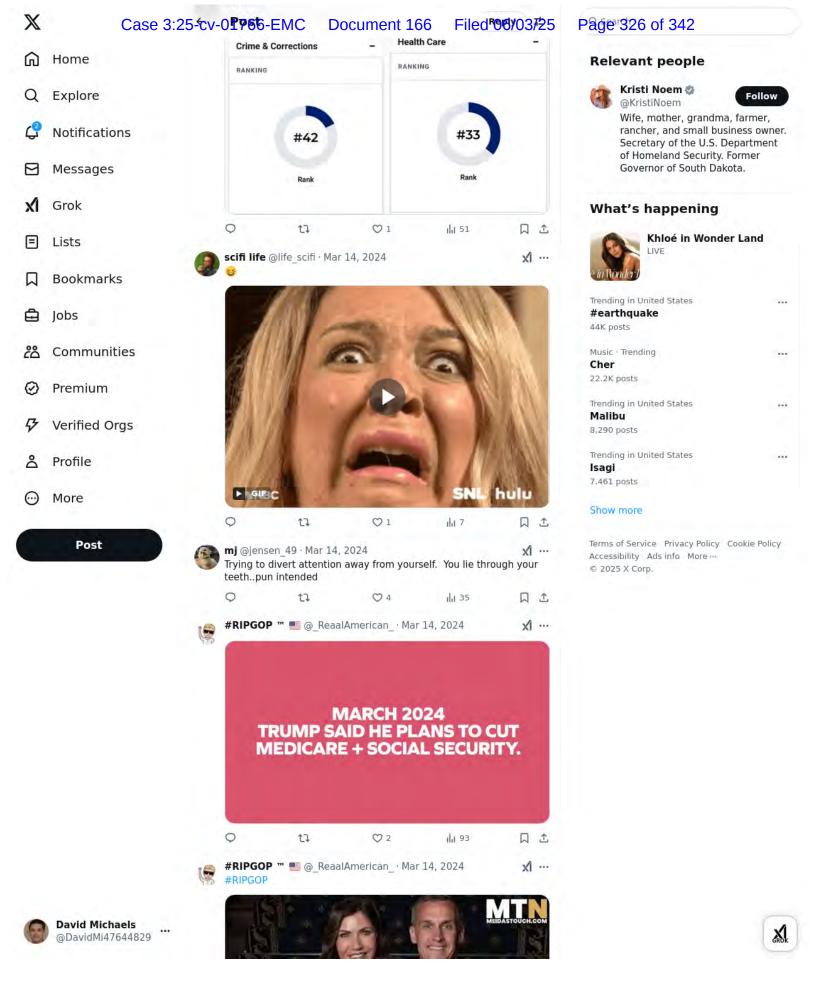


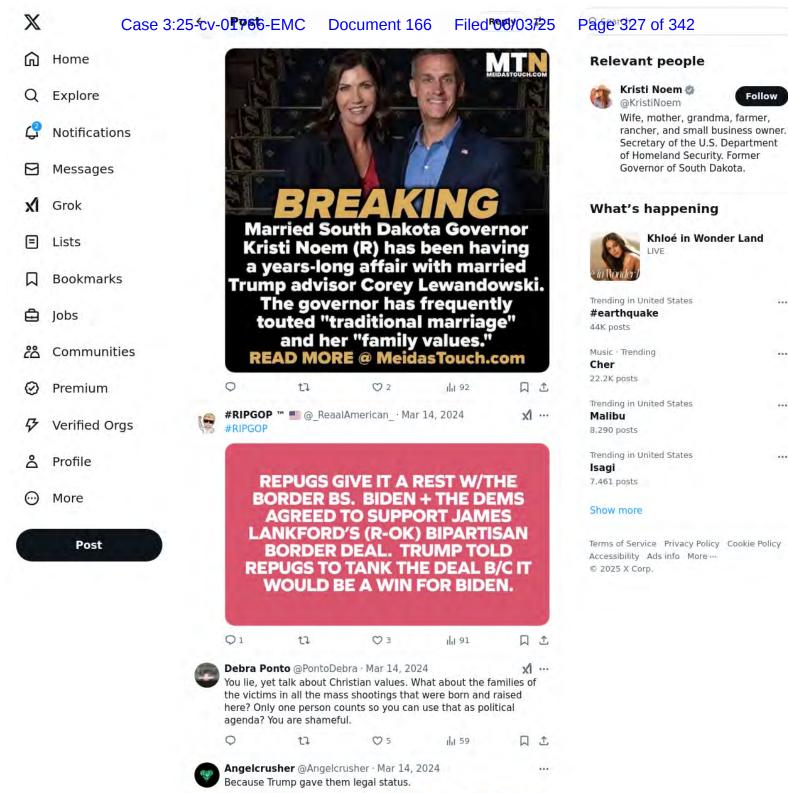
x1 ...

Michelle Mccoy @MichelleMccoy02 · Mar 14, 2024





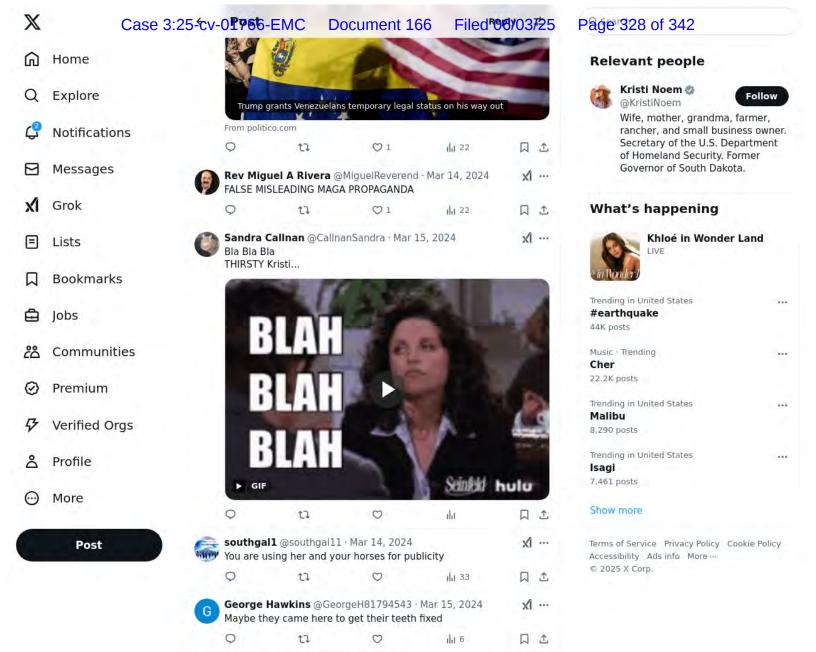












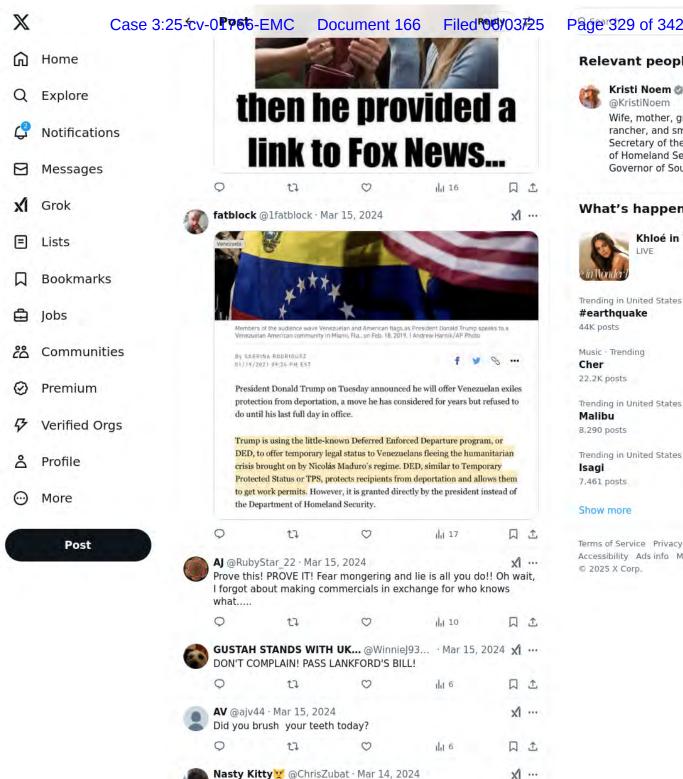


··· lx

dar jaxs @JAXDAR1 · Mar 15, 2024



David Michaels
@DavidMi47644829



Page 329 of 342

Relevant people

@KristiNoem



Wife, mother, grandma, farmer, rancher, and small business owner. Secretary of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security. Former Governor of South Dakota.

What's happening

Khloé in Wonder Land

Trending in United States

Trending in United States

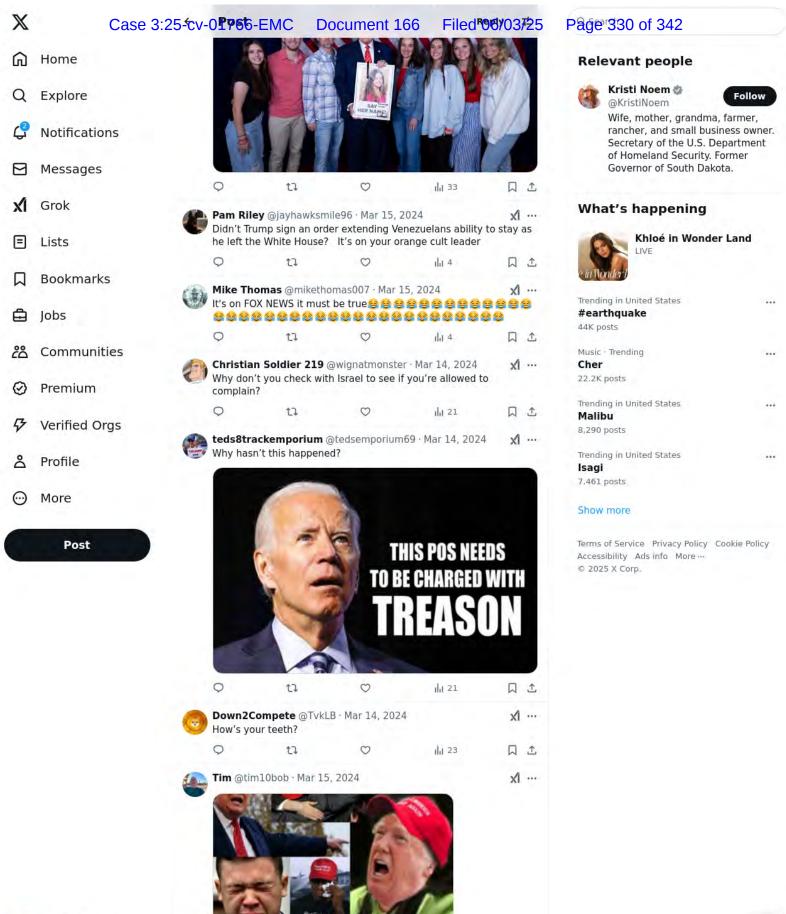
Terms of Service Privacy Policy Cookie Policy Accessibility Ads info More ···





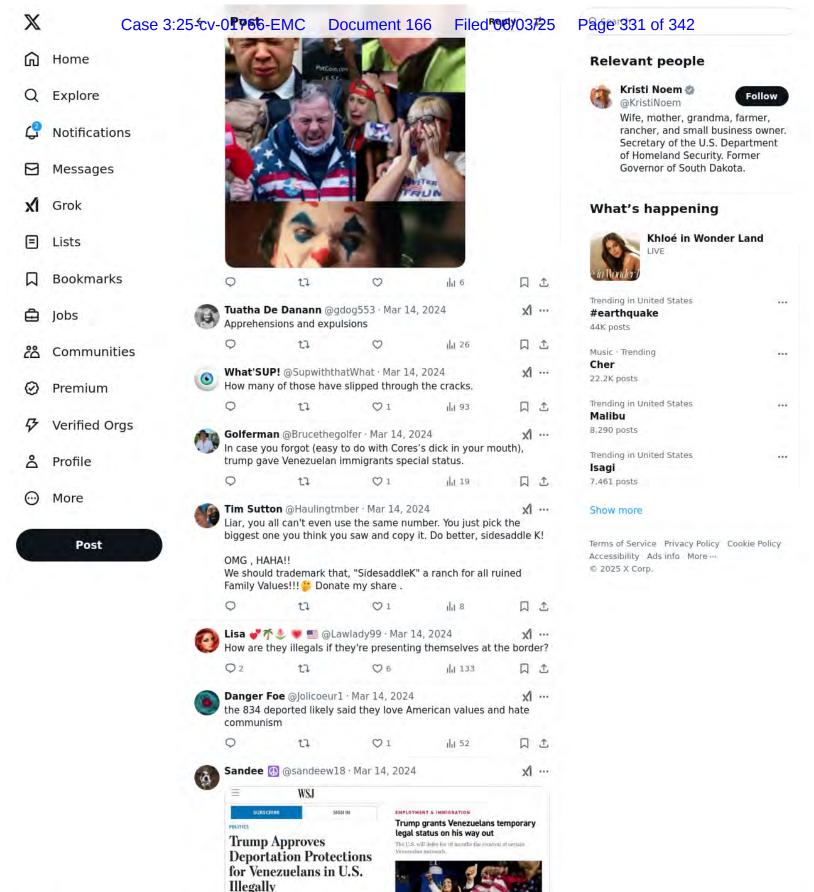
Grieving family and their cult leader







David Michaels
@DavidMi47644829





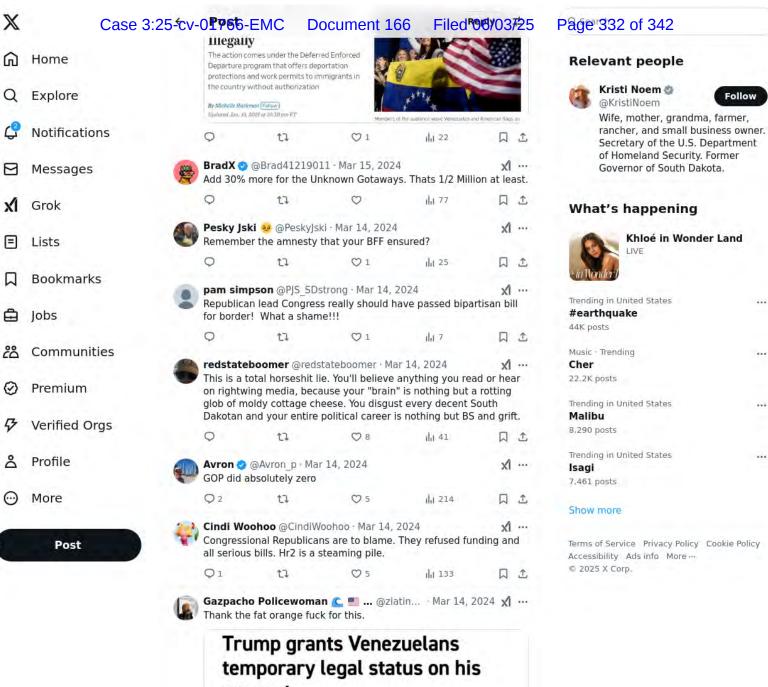
The action comes under the Deferred Enforced Departure program that offers deportation protections and work permits to immigrants in

the country without authorization

By Michelle Hackman Fallow

David Michaels

@DavidMi47644829



way out

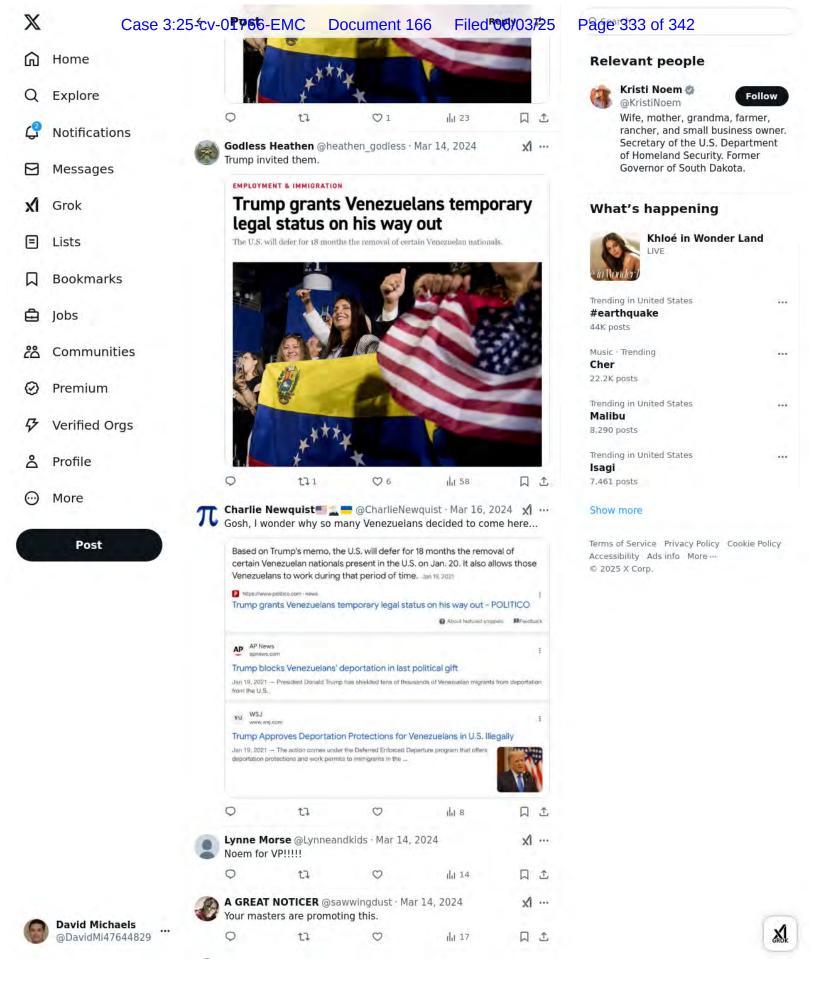
The U.S. will defer for 18 months the removal of certain Venezuelan nationals.

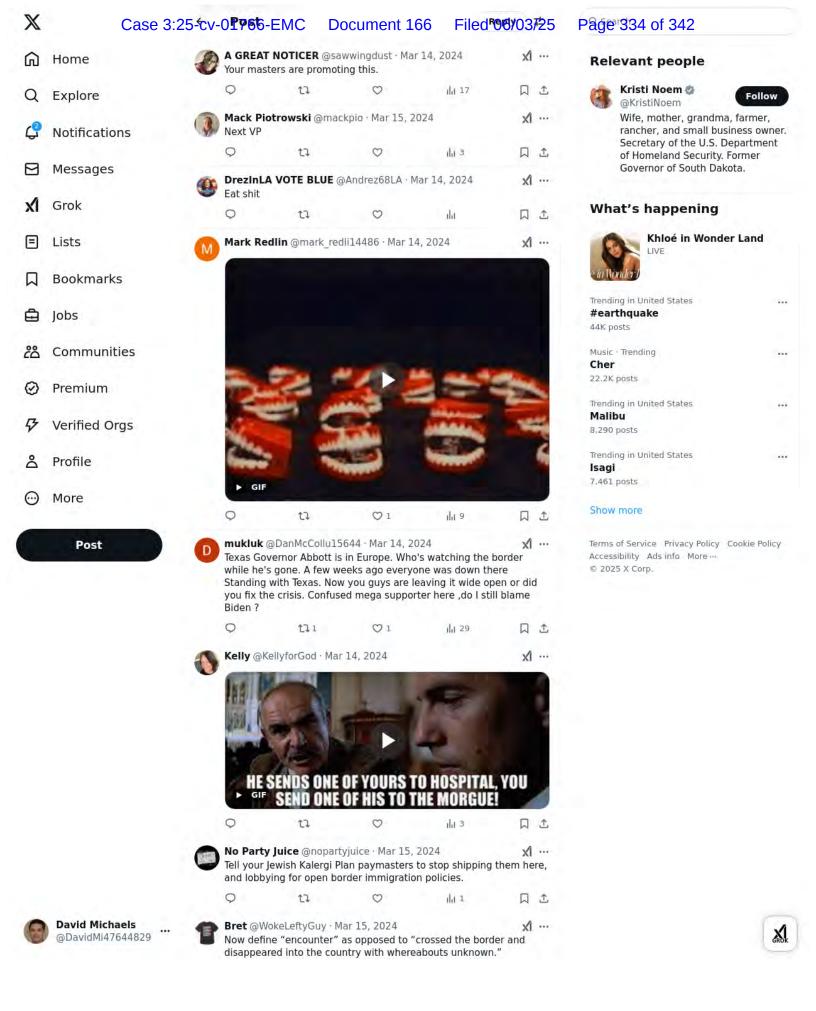


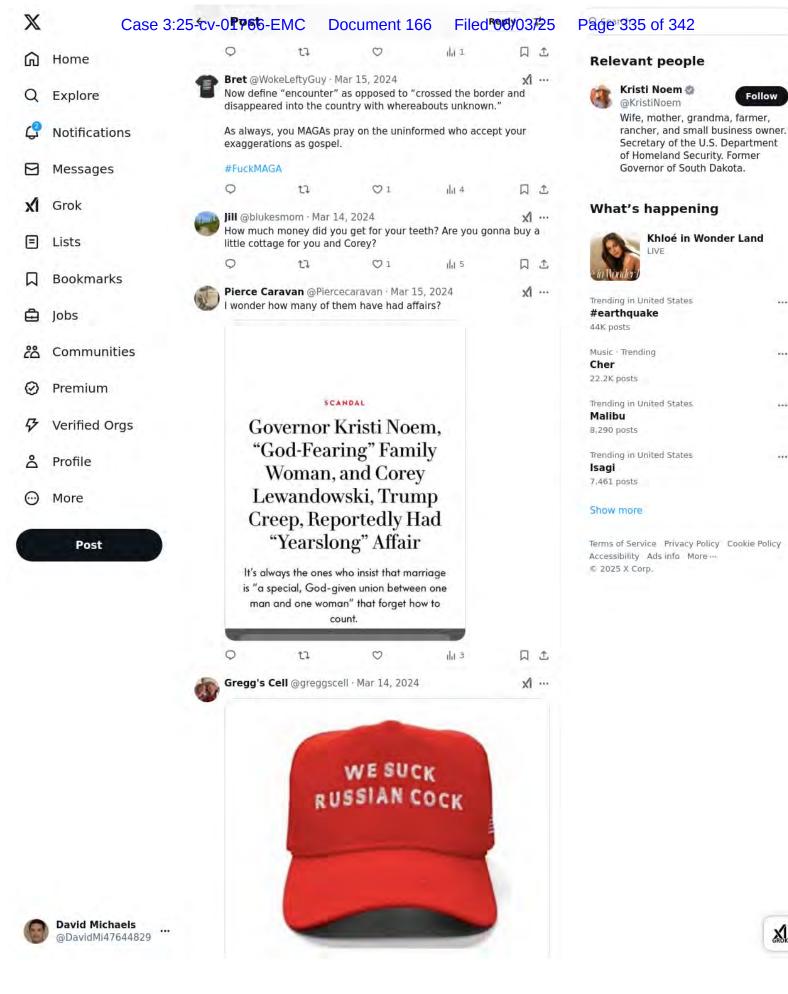


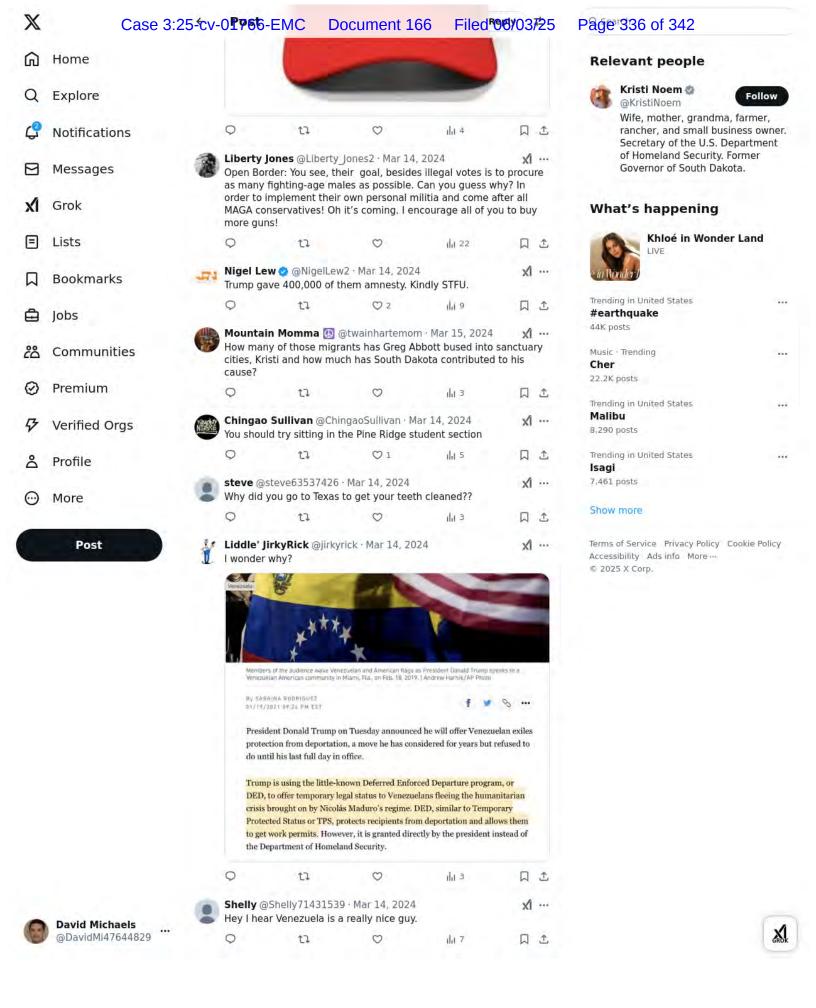


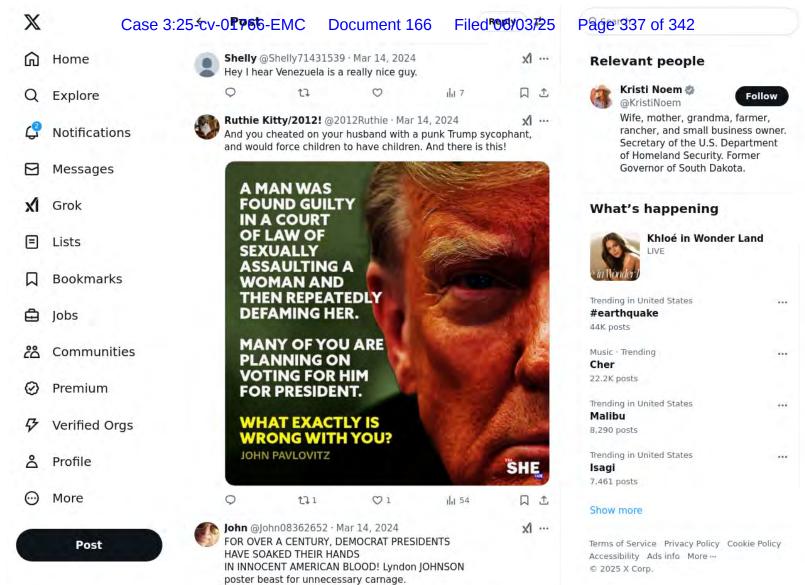
David Michaels @DavidMi47644829













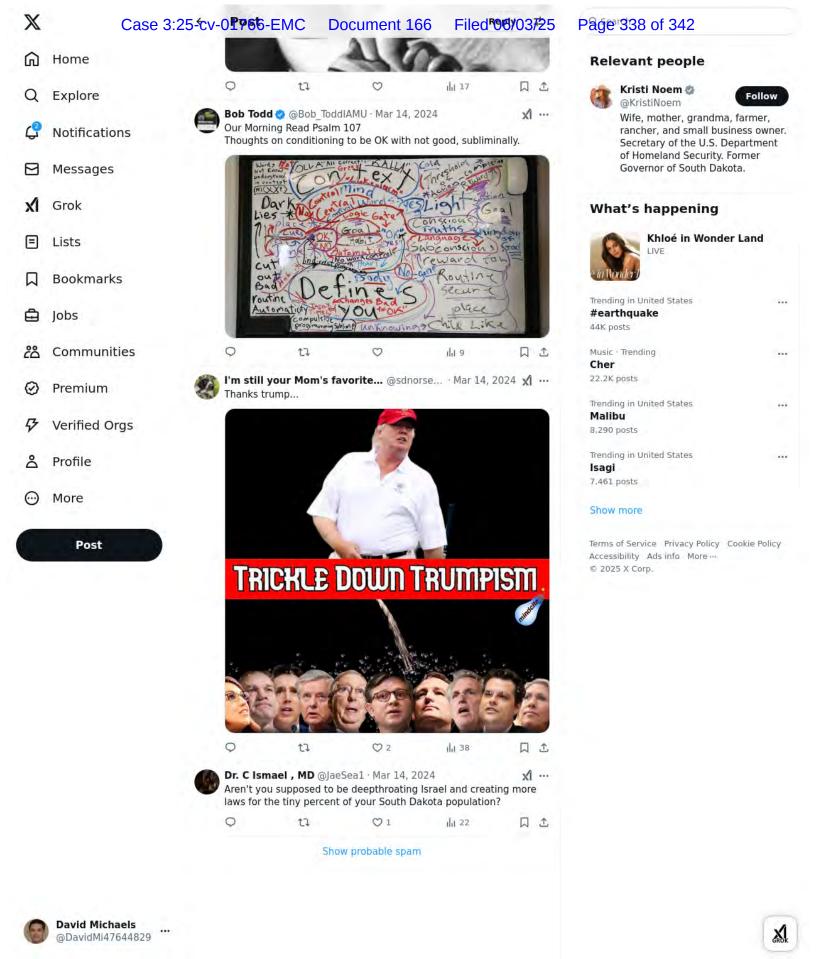


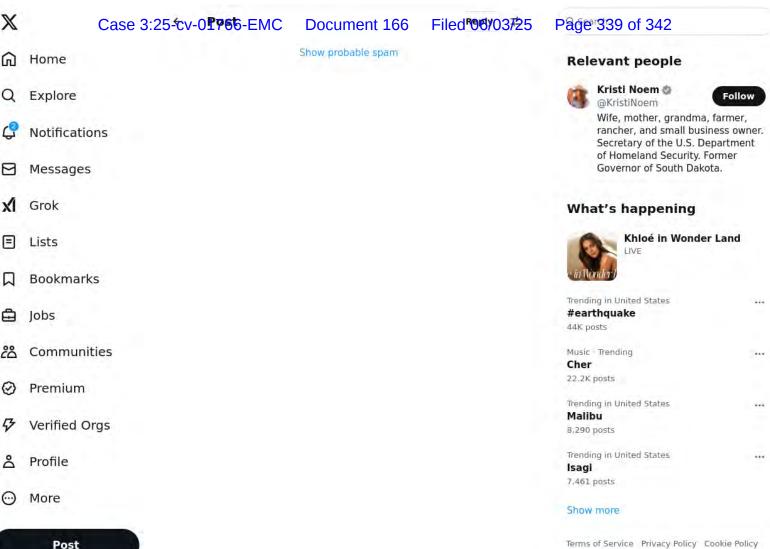
Page 22 of 24

OB-1 T-1414411 M-14 2024

David Michaels

@DavidMi47644829





Post





Accessibility Ads info More ---

© 2025 X Corp.

Exhibit 28

Case 3:25-cv-01766-EMC Document 166 Filed 06/03/25 Page 341 of 342

Instagram

Q Search

Explore

Reels

Messages

Create

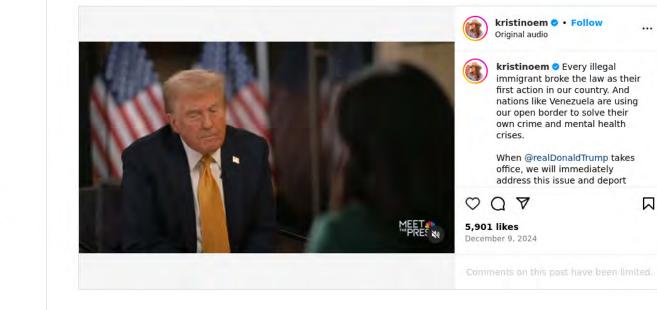
Profile

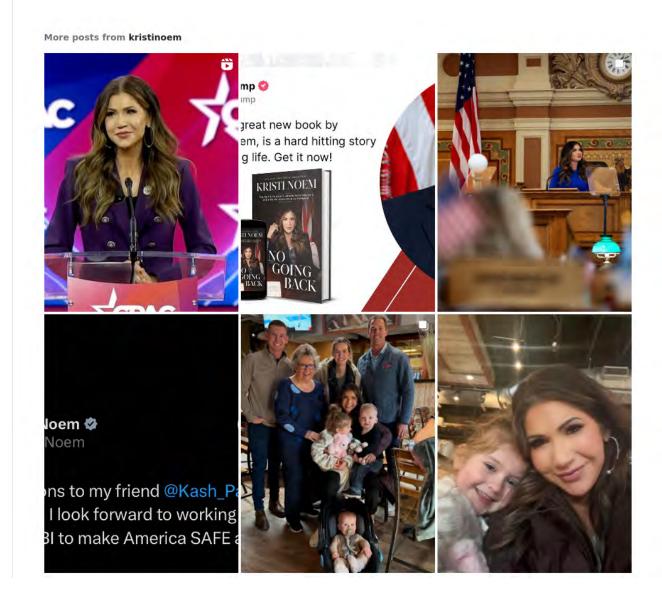
Al Studio

Threads

More

Notifications



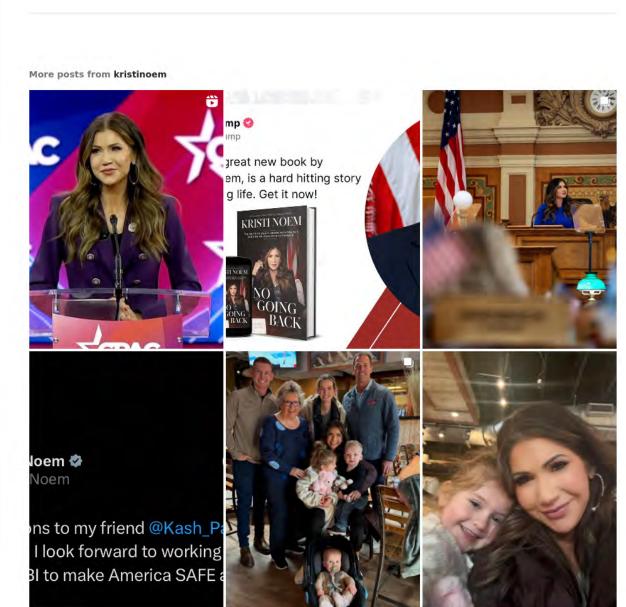


Document title: Kristi Noem | Every illegal immigrant broke the law as their first action in our country. And nations like Venezuela are using our open border to solve... |... Capture URL: https://www.instagram.com/kristinoem/reel/DDVjJnURRqw/
Capture timestamp (UTC): Thu, 20 Feb 2025 23:50:03 GMT

Page 1 of 2

Page 342 of 342 Filed 06/03/25 Case 3:25-cv-01766-EMC Document 166 Instagram







Q Search

Explore

Reels

Messages

Create

Profile

Notifications